

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

---

VOL. VIII, No. 5. DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1908.

---

3D SERIES.

---

## WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN.

BY WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

The Congress of the United States is the most important deliberative and lawmaking body in the world. It represents the American people more than the British Parliament or the German Parliament or the French Chamber of Deputies represent the people of their respective countries. No member of Congress holds his seat except by re-election, for more than two years in the case of Representatives, or for more than six years in the case of Senators. The American government is in the hands of the American people by frequent elections. It is a Democracy, a Referendum, such as no great nation ever had before. The administration of it depends upon the intelligence, the virtue, and the good sense of the people in the exercise of the elective franchise. If they are ignorant or corrupt, and elect incapable and dishonest men to office, they have only themselves to blame for a bad government.

Wise and good men in Congress are the palladium of the Nation, and the people's welfare. In the highest rank among such men was William Pitt Fessenden, and close beside him for ten years, in the most momentous period of our country's history, was James W. Grimes. They stood together, and gave the full measure of their strength to the life and credit and salvation of the Nation in the crisis of its fate. What Grant and Sherman were in the march of the army, Fessenden and Grimes were in the field of legislation. When the catastrophe was over, Mr. Grimes told Mr. Fessenden that he ought to write a history of that period. But death intervened. The work was subsequently undertaken by one of his sons, and now appears in the *Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden*.\*

---

\**Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden*, by his son Francis Fessenden, Brigadier General, Retired Major General, U. S. A. 2 vols.; pp. 374, 367. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Of the many accounts of that period none are so lucid and graphic as to what was done in the halls of Congress. President Lincoln and the army and navy were supported by taxes levied, money borrowed, and the appropriation of millions, all of which passed under the hands of Mr. Fessenden as chairman of the Senate Committee of Finance, or Secretary of the Treasury. Early in the war he saw the necessity of giving freedom to the slaves. He and Mr. Grimes were in advance of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, and at last, after a long and severe struggle, crowned his work with the seal of the Constitution.

A graduate of Bowdoin College at the age of 17, and admitted to the practice of law at the age of 21, Fessenden early became a distinguished lawyer. He was twice chosen to the legislature of Maine. At the age of 34, he was elected to Congress, and served one term. In the prime of his powers, at the age of 48, he was elected to the United States Senate. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the crime against Kansas were then the questions at issue. He at once took part in their discussion in sharp debates with Senators Jefferson Davis and Stephen A. Douglas. Cass, and Butler of South Carolina, also interrupted him, only to be worsted. Mr. Sumner said that a champion of Freedom had come.

Mr. Fessenden was less than two years older than Mr. Davis. They were men of like stature and figure, tall and slender. Both were forcible speakers, high-strung, and prompt to resist attack, but Fessenden was superior in a lofty nature, in freedom from personal ambition, in knowledge of the Constitution and the laws of the history of the United States, and of the world. On one occasion Mr. Davis remarked that he attacked nobody, and did not suppose any one was afraid of him. Mr. Fessenden said that he was, which Mr. Davis took seriously, when Mr. Fessenden explained that he spoke only from an intellectual point of view, which caused laughter in the Senate.

Senator Douglas was also a forcible speaker, but coarse, overbearing, a master of sophistry, and on several occasions opprobrious towards Mr. Fessenden, who answered him indig-



nantly and severely. Later, speaking of great men, Mr. Douglas said, "Henry Clay was the most fascinating, Daniel Webster the most powerful orator, John C. Calhoun the logician of the Senate, William Pitt Fessenden the readiest and ablest debater." Many years later, Mr. Sumner said, that as a debater Mr. Fessenden was "without a superior, without a peer. Nobody could match him in immediate and incisive reply."

One of Mr. Fessenden's strongest speeches was in a debate with Jefferson Davis upon the admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution, into the Union. President Buchanan recommended it, and a bill to that effect passed the Senate, but was lost in the House. Mr. Fessenden denounced the whole thing as a fraud, infinitely dishonorable to all concerned. He said that "the South had lost all claim to honor, and the Democratic North never had any."

When South Carolina opened fire upon Fort Sumter, Mr. Douglas saw that his efforts to propitiate the slave-interest were in vain. He at once turned front, and advised his friends to sink party ties, and support President Lincoln; soon afterwards he died.

Mr. Fessenden also measured swords with Senator Seward upon a bill brought in by Jefferson Davis to increase the appropriation for the army to eight million dollars, under pretense of fear from the Mormons, but really to uphold slavery in Kansas. Mr. Seward was the only Republican Senator who voted for it. "He is perfectly bewildered, but thinks himself wiser than any of us," said Mr. Fessenden.

In a home letter of this period, Mr. Fessenden wrote, "If I leave my sons nothing else, I shall bequeath them the legacy of eternal warfare upon the infamous slave system. It is to be a contest of years, and I will not live to see the end. If you do not witness its extinction, you will, I trust, live to see its gradual and sure decay—the fatal arrow in its side."

In the discussion, February, 1859, upon a Pacific railroad, Mr. Fessenden gave it as his opinion that it should be built by the government, and its control remain in the hands of Congress. Later, he said, "It should be a national work. National

works should not be put into the power of corporations, for it was getting to be the case that the country was to be controlled by great corporations, and legislation controlled by them." He did not vote for the Union Pacific Railroad bill, but secured the proviso that Congress should preserve control of the road, with power to legislate for it in the future.

Upon his election to a second term in the Senate by a unanimous vote of the Maine legislature, he wrote to his son: "I am exceedingly gratified at the good feeling and unanimity. I am doubly bound to serve the people honestly, and to justify their confidence. I can say with truth that I have never sought a nomination to office. I have not the shame of recollection that I owe my success to unworthy means. For many years I struggled on in a hopeless minority, content, as far as I was concerned, to remain there, retaining a clear conscience and my own self-respect."

Speaking of the difference which the circumstances and employments of men made in their opinions, Mr. Fessenden, from his own observation of human nature, said: "In cities, politics are necessarily influenced by trade. The mercantile class, as a class, is always mercenary and unreliable in public affairs. Sometimes one rises above the selfishness begotten by his calling, and in emergencies and crises is capable of great sacrifices. Still, as a general rule, men engaged in Southern trade cannot look beyond the present to the future. I never calculate on such men; but the heart of New England is sound." He added "I would rather belong to a small and free State than be subject to an oligarchy so overbearing and tyrannical as the slave-power. What I have left of life is at the service of my country. I hope the storm will blow over, and that these Southern fools will not attempt to pull down the fabric which, if it falls, will surely bury them in its ruins."

The first term of Mr. Grimes in the Senate was coeval with Mr. Fessenden's second term. They early came into a warm friendship, which continued to the end of their days. They were fond of taking walks and strolls together all over Washington, and when absent from the city, they kept in friendly correspondence with each other to the last. Of different tem-



peraments, and Mr. Fessenden the senior in age by ten years, they mixed and mingled as if kith and kin, while each was independent, self-reliant, and acted from his own convictions. Both were frank and outspoken, Mr. Fessenden with his impassioned nature, and Mr. Grimes with his cool and deliberate mind, and his temper under command.

Both realized the determined and desperate character of the rebellion at its outbreak, and that the issue of life or death was before the Nation. Throughout the war, Mr. Fessenden gave his sleepless vigilance to provide the sinews of war for its enormous expenses, especially to have every soldier paid in honest money. Mr. Grimes was equally vigilant to promote the efficiency of the navy, and bring about the great achievements of Farragut and Porter. Three of Mr. Fessenden's sons served in the army; one was mortally wounded in 1862 at Bull Run; another was severely wounded at Shiloh, and again in the Banks' Expedition. To this son we owe the memoirs of his father, written with filial devotion in his crippled condition, with much care and pains.

Mr. Fessenden, May 7, 1861, wrote from his home in Portland to Mr. Grimes: "Frank desires to take part in the war, but I desire that he shall first re-establish his health, and then, if he desires it, I cannot refuse him, dear as he is. I think our Southern friends will soon lay aside all hopes of Northern aid. Our people are all but unanimous, though there are some who sympathize with the traitors. With love to Mrs. Grimes, yours always."

He wrote, June 1, 1861: "It has struck me that our friends at Washington had on a pretty good head of steam. At present, however, they are behind the popular feeling. It is to be presumed that what they have done thus far is to be submitted to Congress, and confirmation requested. There may be some doubts whether Congress will not limit the government, but after all in the present excited state of public feeling there is more danger of error upon the other side. I confess that were I in Lincoln's place a small scruple would not detain me from doing what was needful. And it is safer to excuse the exercise of powers not warranted, in an extraordinary emergency, than to grant a power easily perverted."

At the special session of Congress, July 4, 1861, called by the President, Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Grimes were in their seats in the Senate. Early in the session, Mr. Grimes proposed a diversion of the men and money employed in the Coast Survey to the prosecution of the war. Mr. Fessenden objected. He spoke of the importance of the Coast Survey, and said: "We do not know how long the war will continue. It may end in the course of a few months." Mr. Fessenden also objected to some other measures proposed by Mr. Grimes, whereupon the latter said: "My experience has taught me that it is futile to war against the Chairman of the Committee on Finance. His eloquence, and will, and persistency are such that it is useless for me to press any amendment against his wishes. I therefor withdraw the proposition, hoping to receive his support some other time."

Portland, September 26, 1861.

My dear Grimes:

I was glad to get your letter, though it was a continual growl from beginning to end. Of course I could expect nothing else.

As to this unfortunate Fremont affair, I am with you entirely, so far as the proclamation is concerned and wrote Fremont to that effect, as soon as I saw the President's foolish letter. The people here, as with you, are all for the proclamation, and the President has lost ground amazingly. It was a weak and unjustifiable concession to the Union men of the border States, who cannot take care of themselves, and are haunted by the Slavery demon night and day. I fear however that this is but a trifling matter. A friend in St. Louis, who liked and thought highly of Fremont, writes me that he fears all is going wrong, that Fremont has surrounded himself with a set of corrupt broken-down speculators from California, and is playing the very devil with the public money, etc.—but I will hope for the best, for, if obliged to lose faith in Fremont I shall not know where to look.

I am patriot enough, my friend, to rejoice most heartily that our money affairs are so much better than I expected. It would grieve me to lessen your opinion of your own financial sagacity in any way, but you will permit me to say that, as yet, there has not been time enough to consider the experiment as fairly tried. You must not be too hard on Chase and me, for you will reflect that we never had that peculiar experience in raising the wind which is only acquired by Iowa Banking. \* \* \*

And so our sweet friend ——— is going to Europe. Joy go with her the world over. May God bless her, and make her as happy



as she deserves to be. If I could believe that any effort would have made me the possessor of such a jewel, and that I was in any degree worthy to possess it, such an opportunity lost would be a lifelong regret. It would be folly in me, however, to think of such a woman, and selfishness even to wish that youth and loveliness should be sacrificed to the solace of my few remaining years. I have resolutely schooled myself to look disagreeable truths squarely in the face. And none is more obvious than that, at my age, I have no right to look for woman's love, or any sentiment beyond respect and esteem. I must therefore go on my way alone. Excuse me for making a serious matter of your joke.

Why did you not come? Believe me when I say that no man would be more welcome to my house and heart. I am living here quietly, taking little part in what is going on around me, impatient until I get the news of the day, and somewhat hard pressed to dispose of time after I get it. My oldest son who has a fine business, a sweet wife, and two little boys, has undertaken to raise a company of sharpshooters, and my only hope is that he will fail. Sam annoys me every day on the same subject, and I expect to wake some morning and find him gone.

I do so long to hear something creditable to our army. When is it to be? If this state of things shall continue much longer I shall join the grumblers. Politics however is a great captain, and I try hard to keep cool.

Portland, Nov. 10, 1861.

These are delightful times, are they not? What a lovely report that was of old Thomas (Lorenzo), and what excellent good sense and taste was displayed in publishing it. We shall have to investigate the matter. I think that even Floyd would have shrunk from anything so utterly shameless. These people must give some sounder reasons than I have seen yet, or their treatment of Fremont will damn them. Who and what are at the bottom of it? In the very best view I can take of it, our affairs on the Potomac have been but a succession of blunders. I reserve my *public* opinion until I have learned more.

Mr. Chase commended Edwin M. Stanton to Mr. Fessenden as a man of great ability and entitled to the highest confidence, and in January, 1862, Mr. Fessenden in the Senate gave his warm approval to the confirmation of Edwin M. Stanton "as just the man for Secretary of War."

Portland, Sept. 25, 1862.

Dear Grimes:

My youngest son was mortally wounded at Bull Run. He lived about thirty-six hours, manifesting through all, I am told, as in the

battle, the most heroic calmness and self-possession, uttering no complaint, but dying like a man and a soldier. The loss has affected me most severely, and the fact that two others of my sons are exposed to the same fate renders me unquiet and unhappy—but I have nothing but patience and submission.

I presume you are not more pleased than I am with the present condition of our affairs. McClellan as usual lost the golden opportunity on Thursday. I see nothing before us but a renewal of last winter's campaign. You have read Pope's report. I have no doubt of its truth, nor has anybody who was in Washington at the time. The President knows it to be true. And yet he gave McClellan the command of the army, and at his request restored to their places Porter, Franklin and Griffin, through fear of his influence with the army. The Proclamation is, however, to make up for everything with you radicals. I, being less sanguine, do not expect as much from it as many others, but pray that it may produce all the anticipated good.

Portland, Oct. 19, 1862.

I am glad that you have done so well in Iowa. The folly of the President has lost Ohio and Indiana, and I am surprised that its effects have not been still more calamitous. Wade, I am thinking, will close his senatorial career with this Congress. He has some faults, but I shall be sorry to lose so true a man.\*

Private advices from Washington are to the effect that McClellan is to be removed from command of the army, and Halleck is to take his place. We should gain little by that in my judgment. I am for Hooker. He has shown more brains than any of them.

I shall go to the old place if I can get my old room, and hope you will do the like. Having become accustomed to you, I am content to tolerate your infirmities for the good that is in you.

Upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1862, the Senate took into consideration the recent disasters of the army. Mr. Fessenden, Mr. Grimes, and other Senators regarded the course of Mr. Seward and his influence over the President as in a measure responsible. Mr. Seward had opposed the employment of negro soldiers. While our enemies were being supported by the labor of their slaves, he had informed the governments of Europe in a circular to our foreign ministers that slavery had nothing to do with the rebellion. A committee of Senators held a conference with the President, and recommended a removal of Mr. Seward from the Cabinet. Mr.

---

\* Mr. Fessenden was mistaken about Ohio; Mr. Wade was re-elected to the Senate.



Seward sent his resignation to the President and Mr. Fessenden advised its acceptance. But the matter became complicated by Mr. Chase sending in his resignation. Mr. Fessenden felt that Mr. Chase could not be spared from the Treasury. Holding up Mr. Chase's resignation, Mr. Lincoln said, "Now I have the biggest half of the hog, I shall accept neither."

In 1863, Mr. Seward changed front, and supported the employment of negro soldiers, and the Emancipation Proclamation of that year.

In the fall of 1863, Mr. Grimes visited Mr. Fessenden, and in a letter to Mrs. Grimes said:

Portland, Nov. 24, 1863.

I reached Mr. Fessenden's without accident, and am now at his house. I wanted to leave to-day for Boston, but he restrained me, and I shall not go until to-morrow. I shall be in Boston until Friday, when Mr. Fessenden is to meet me, and we shall go to Washington together. I judge Portland to be one of the pleasantest cities in the United States. Fessenden has a grand old place; house and everything in it appearing to be not less than fifty years old and upward. He expressed his regret that you were not with me. All of his family, including sons, brother-in-law, etc., seemed to be pleased to see me, and all inquired kindly for you, as if they knew you. In Fessenden's chamber I found four framed portraits, his wife, Samuel, who is also dead, and my wife and my wife's husband.

Upon Mr. Fessenden's appointment to succeed Mr. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Grimes wrote him a letter of exceeding pathos and tenderness, to which Mr. Fessenden replied with his characteristic sympathy and warm affection. The correspondence is in the *Life of James W. Grimes*,\* pp. 263-66. An additional part of Mr. Fessenden's letter is as follows:

Washington, July 24, 1864.

I suppose you, like everybody else, were disgusted with the disgraceful manner in which the recent raid upon Washington was met. Where the fault was I am not able to say. Perhaps in the stupidity of entrusting important commands to such men as Sigel and Wallace. Yet we blunder on. Only worse blunders on the part of our adversaries will save us—and there is our chance.

Mr. Fessenden served eight months as Secretary of the Treasury. He took the office at the earnest solicitation of the

---

\* *Life of James W. Grimes*, by William Salter. N. Y., Appleton & Co., 1876.

President. It was in the gloomiest period of the war, the movement of our armies in doubt, the national credit at its lowest ebb. There was a debt of nearly two billion dollars; an inflated paper currency, irredeemable, of six hundred millions; daily requisitions upon the treasury for three millions; and gold at 225. Mr. Fessenden said:

I consented to take the Treasury not only with extreme reluctance, but with much pain, having little strength for labor of any kind, but I could not resist the appeals to try to save our sinking credit—upon which the success of our cause depended. It was unfortunate for me that just at that moment I was believed to possess the confidence of the country to an extent which imposed the effort upon me. Under this state of things and in the hour of peril, I did not dare to refuse, whatever might be the consequences to myself. It may result in the destruction of all the reputation I have gained. Be it so—I owe that to my country as well as my life. My days are devoted to hard work, and I find many things to harass and perplex me. I could, however, do well enough but for the constant trouble in my head. But I do not feel like complaining when I think of Frank's amputated limb, or the many thousands of glorious fellows who bear wounds and suffering patiently and cheerfully because their country demands the sacrifice. All I can do and bear is trifling in comparison.

By vigor and skill in the management of the Treasury putting an end to any further issue of irredeemable paper, Mr. Fessenden restored confidence in the national credit. He addressed the people directly in a spirited appeal, told them the situation frankly, and called for their support. He said, "It is your war. The brave men who are fighting our battles must be fed and clothed, and the munitions of war be furnished, or the war must endure defeat and disgrace." The people responded in large subscriptions, and the country was saved from bankruptcy. The famous work of Hamilton in providing for the Revolutionary war debt was surpassed in providing for the greater debt incurred by the war of the Rebellion.

In a letter to the President, February 6, 1865, resigning his office, to take effect March 3d, Mr. Fessenden said:

I desire gratefully to acknowledge the kindness and consideration with which you have invariably treated me, and to assure you that



in retiring I carry with me great and increased respect for your personal character, and for the ability which has marked your administration of the government at a period requiring the most devoted patriotism and the highest intellectual and moral qualities for a place so exalted as yours.

Allow me, also, to congratulate you upon the greatly improved aspect of our national affairs, to which and to the auspicious result of our prolonged struggle for national life, now, as I believe, so near at hand, no one can claim to have so largely contributed as the Chief Magistrate of this great people.

That your future administration may be crowned with entire success, and that you may at its close take with you into retirement the well-deserved gratitude of the people you have well and faithfully ruled, is the most fervent wish of

Your friend and obt. servant,

W. P. FESSENDEN.

To The President.

Upon Mr. Fessenden's election to a third term in the Senate, he expressed in a letter to the Maine legislature his gratification at this renewed proof of their confidence, and said: "The administration of President Lincoln has been marked by extraordinary events. It has formed a memorable epoch in history. The struggle has enchained the attention of the world—the result must seriously affect the welfare of ages to come. Let it be our boast that in the emergency Maine was true to the cause of civil liberty, that at no moment did her people falter or faint, that no sacrifice could shake her purpose or weaken her faith."

Upon the death of President Lincoln, Mr. Fessenden deemed it the duty of the new President to call Congress together in view of the extraordinary condition of things. The new President thought otherwise. He took the government of the rebel States into his own hands, without authority of law. He had promised to be the Moses of the late slaves, but abandoned them to be despoiled by their late masters.

Upon the assembling of Congress in December, 1865, Mr. Fessenden labored in personal interviews with the President to convince him of the authority of Congress over the rebel States. Their armies were captured or surrendered, their president a prisoner, their slaves emancipated, their people under martial law, with no government of their own. At the

outset of the rebellion, they withdrew their Senators and representatives from Congress. The questions now pending were as to their readmission into the Union, and the terms upon which they might again send Senators and representatives to Congress. Mr. Fessenden said it was an infamy in President Buchanan to allow the rebellion to gain force and form, but it would be more infamous to allow the rebel States to come back, send Senators and representatives to Congress, without guaranteeing the safety of the Nation, without assenting to the abolition of slavery, without repudiating the rebel debt, or without giving the rights of freemen to their former slaves.

A joint committee of both Houses on "Reconstruction" was appointed, to inquire into the condition of the Confederate States, and report upon these questions. Mr. Fessenden was made chairman of the Committee. Mr. Sumner wanted the place, but was deemed "too ultra." Mr. Grimes was second on the committee. Mr. Fessenden's labors with the President were futile. The President asserted his own authority, and later he defied Congress. The labors of the committee were arduous. There were contrary opinions. The strife and strain imperiled Mr. Fessenden's health, and nearly broke him down. But in weariness and painfulness he held his head aloft in long and sharp debates, and braved every difficulty. At last, he saw the crown of his labors in the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. As the war of the Revolution led to the adoption of the Constitution, so the war of the Rebellion led to the adoption of the Amendments. They were the corollary of the Rebellion, the inevitable consequence of its failure and defeat.

The final report of the Committee on "Reconstruction" was drawn up by Mr. Fessenden, and presented to the Senate, June 11, 1866. "In my opinion," said Mr. Grimes, "it is the ablest paper submitted to Congress, since I have been in the Senate."

When the revision of the tariff was under consideration, some parties, who were making enormous profits in steel, charged Mr. Grimes with exerting an influence upon the Fi-



nance Committee, in favor of reducing the duties on steel. Mr. Fessenden, referring to the matter, said: "I will frankly say that if there is a man in or out of the Senate who possesses influence over me, it is the honorable Senator from Iowa. No man possesses more. I have great respect for his opinion, and for the uniform integrity of his character, as we all have. But I must say in justification of the Senator, and of the Committee, or of the chairman of it in this instance, that the Senator never spoke to me upon the matter referred to, or alluded to it in any way. All I ever heard him say on the subject was said here on the floor of the Senate."

The folly and malfeasance of President Johnson early aroused Mr. Fessenden's indignation, but he doubted the expediency of impeaching him. The question took form in the House of Representatives in January, 1867, when it was referred to the Judiciary Committee (James F. Wilson chairman), for examination. The Committee took a large amount of testimony, but could not complete their investigation during that Congress, and the matter was turned over to the next, the 40th, which met March 4, and continued in its first session till March 30, and subsequently by adjournment July 3-20, November 21-30.

When some Senators were freely expressing their minds upon the matter in the Senate, Mr. Fessenden said, July 20, 1867, that he deemed it "improper for one, who was to act as a judge in the case, to commit himself in advance upon the guilt of the accused, but should hear the case without prejudice or passion."

The Judiciary Committee of the House, by George S. Boutwell, made a report, November 25, in favor of impeachment. Mr. Wilson did not agree with it, and made a minority report. The subject was then postponed to the next month. On December 7, a vote was taken, when the yeas were 57, nays 108.

The situation was changed February 21, 1868, by the President's removal of the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton. Congress had passed a law to protect Mr. Stanton in that office, and his removal was deemed a crime that demanded impeachment. The vote now stood, yeas 126, nays 41. The next day,

James F. Wilson stated that if the President could not be convicted on the ground of his removal of Mr. Stanton, he probably could not be convicted on the other charges against him. The trial was made to hinge on that article, though the other charges were presented and discussed.

On the 5th of March, 1868, the Chief Justice of the United States and the Senators took the oath to do impartial justice in the matter according to the Constitution and the laws. The trial went on in long arguments and speeches *pro* and *con* until the 16th of May, when 35 Senators voted "guilty," 19 "not guilty," and the impeachment failed, two-thirds being required for conviction. Ten days later, votes were taken on other charges with like result, and the Senate sitting as a Court adjourned *sine die*.

The following extracts from Mr. Fessenden's letters to Mr. Grimes show his views of how things went on:

Portland, May 8, 1867.

It was taken for granted that there would not be a session in July unless something new "turned up"—though Sumner professed to know that there would be. These fellows considered themselves beaten and were very sore. Wade's vision of the Presidency and Schenck's of succeeding him during the present Congress were somewhat dimmed—though the former and his Lieutenants are arranging their forces for the next campaign and are abusing everybody—not excepting Grant.

We had a hard time of it during the called session. The fight among ourselves was a severe one, but the *leaders* found themselves in the vocative at last, and were pretty thoroughly used up. Impeachment had got to be a matter of ridicule before the session closed, but the movement has done us harm.

I trust your health is restored. We needed your help very much, but a consideration of your very critical condition induced us to forgive you.

Yours always with the best regards to Mrs. Grimes.

Portland, June 18, 1867.

Shall you go? It is all nonsense in my judgment, and Stevens and others are jumping at a pretense. I am disgusted with Johnson for giving them such a pretense. God only knows what mischief will be done if we get together. We shall have to consider July and August as mortgaged. Besides, we shall be weak. The Pacific coast is not to be counted on, and Morrill of Vermont and Sherman, with many of the House are in Europe.



I see that our V. P. is fairly in for the Presidency. I suppose he will divide the West with Colfax. Under which of these doughty champions will Iowa range itself?

Portland, July 14, 1867.

What do you think of Andy's reconstruction scheme? It strikes me that the rebels are having it all their own way. The papers say that Montgomery Blair approves. It is quite time, in my judgment, that the Blairs were laid aside, though as Fox [Gustavus V., Assistant Secretary of the Navy] belongs to the family, I suppose the Committee on Naval Affairs will go with the administration. I have been hard at work gardening, and my health has improved wonderfully.

Portland, Sept. 20, 1867.

My dear Grimes:

I have just finished my evening cigar, and, as it happens to be a good one, I am in a most desirable condition. Beside the cigar, I am just now in excellent health—eat well (in spite of chronic dyspepsia which my friends assign in excuse of my bad temper)—sleep well—my garden flourishes—and Frank with his charming little wife and pretty boy make a part of my family. Should not all these happy circumstances and surroundings enable me to bear even Mr. Sumner's philippics with a reasonable degree of equanimity?

The truth is I didn't get angry with Sumner *this time*. The whole thing was exquisitely funny. All the world this way is laughing at him. It was manifest that the thing was deliberately got up. I will bet you a guinea he either had a week to prepare, or took that time to revise the manuscript.

With you, however, I *was* surprised at the appearance of such stuff in the *Advertiser*. Mr. Chandler (J. P.), the principal owner and director, was away, as was the leading editor. Chandler wrote me from the country that he don't understand it. I have sent him your letter for edification.

The truth is that for some reason or other, this particular clique have resolved to write and talk me down—to persuade the people that I am untrue to the principles of the party—a friend and defender of Andrew Johnson. They would do the same by Grant if they dared. See Sumner's hints and Phillips' open attacks. Forney cottons with them and beslaunders Grant. They don't want him if it can be avoided, and mean to dispose of me in case any happy incident should kill off Grant. Now, so far as I am concerned, they need not trouble themselves. I would go as far to avoid being a candidate myself as I would to defeat Wade. But the malice is only equalled by their meanness and cowardice.

I have recently returned from a water expedition to St. John in company with Hooper [Samuel] and Conkling [Roscoe]. We talked freely of Sumner's manifesto, and Phillips' letter found us at East-

port; Conkling was evidently much annoyed, and thought he should have a friendly talk with Sumner. He says, Phillips' letter, so far as it refers to me, was but a repetition of what he had heard Sumner say in the cars when riding from the Capitol. I have not heard from Edmunds. As both of them were fond of complimenting Sumner, I shall let them settle the matter in their own way.

We are looking to the Western elections with much interest. I mark your prediction. If it comes true, I think the hopes of these gentlemen will be somewhat clouded.

Is it true that Wilson [James F.] has written a letter in favor of impeachment? If so, he has not acted with his usual discretion.

Keep cool my friend, enjoy your leisure, and come back full of love to all your associates—particularly for the writer who, with best regards for your wife, remains as always yours.

Portland, Oct. 20, 1867.

As you predicted the elections have surprised people, though Iowa has held her own very well. Our friends Wade, Chandler & Co. must feel particularly gratified with the result in Ohio. I see Stevens imputes it to the corruption of Congress in not impeaching the President. Most of our influential journals, however, think it is owing to a general disgust with the leadership of Stevens and his drive.

\* \* \* All is Grant now, and I do not see but he will go in by general acclamation, without any declaration of his principles, or pledges of his action. It will be only necessary for the Democrats to nominate him also, and we shall have an administration "without regard to colour"—and shall see in due time, what is to come of it. You must be on the look-out for squalls. There will be plenty of crimination and recrimination. Will you and Edmunds and others be prepared to take a part in the fight, or are we to be silent and take all the abuse certain gentlemen will load us with?

Mr. Fessenden held that the act of Congress which was intended to protect Mr. Stanton in his office was unwarranted by the Constitution. He delivered an elaborate written opinion to that effect. Later, upon the election of General Grant as President, that act was repealed. At the close of his opinion Mr. Fessenden said with reference to the diatribes against him: "I should consider myself unworthy a place among honorable men, if for any fear of public reprobation, and for the sake of securing popular favor, I should disregard the convictions of my judgment and my conscience. The consequences which may follow from conviction or acquittal are not for me to consider. The future is in the hands of Him who made and governs the universe, and the fear that He will not govern



it wisely and well would not excuse me for a violation of His law."

In the trial Mr. Sumner held that the Senate was still a political body, and the Senators under a political responsibility; Mr. Fessenden held that the Senate was now a Court. The difference in their point of view appeared in the fact that Mr. Sumner and his side addressed the Chief Justice as "Mr. President." Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Grimes always addressed him as "Mr. Chief Justice."

Washington, June 12, 1868.

My dear Grimes:

Glad to hear that you are improving. All you have to do is to enjoy yourself, and let public affairs take care of themselves. Trumbull has been very busy of late getting the rebel States in—including Alabama, to which he was opposed. The fools outvoted us as usual, as if our burdens were not heavy enough now.

Andy has behaved very well so far, and I think he will hold on until after the Democratic convention. The Democrats go to see him, such as Hendricks and Buckalew, and I think he is comparatively safe in their hands.

Have you seen the London papers? All with one accord congratulate this country upon its escape from a serious blow at its government, and praise us for our firmness. They evidently consider impeachment in this case as a mere scheme of Jacobinism to get power. Was it not about so? Stanton, I learn, is very bitter. This does not surprise me though I deeply regret such an exhibition of bitterness in such a man.

Mr. J. M. Forbes, of Boston, May 23, 1868, wrote Mr. Fessenden: "I hope you do not care anything for the ravings of our radical papers; and I know you will not let them move you a hair from the even tenor of your way. The more I agree with them, in the main, the more they make me mad with their extravagance and unreasonableness." In reply Mr. Fessenden said:

Washington, June 21, 1868.

\* \* \* I have felt outraged by the gross attacks made upon me by some of the Republican journals. However, I cannot but feel that time will set all things even. Whether it does or not, the path of duty is plain. No considerations of this sort could justify me in departing from my line of duty. A man who has knowingly and deliberately put at hazard all that most public men value, in obedi-

ence to his sense of right; will not be likely to throw away all the consolation that remains to him—his own approval.

Grimes will be in Boston before long, and I hope our friends will see and cheer him. He is a noble fellow, and I love him more than ever.\*

A large number of citizens of Boston of the Republican party, "desirous of expressing their sense of the value of his public services," invited Mr. Fessenden to a public dinner to be given in that city. They said:

"While some of us strongly dissent from the conclusion at which you arrived with regard to the conviction of President Johnson, we all heartily recognize and admire your courage and conscientiousness under circumstances of peculiar difficulty."

Declining the invitation from considerations of his duty in the Senate and of his own health, Mr. Fessenden referred to the "circumstances of peculiar difficulty" alluded to. A few extracts from his letter show how he regarded the situation:

Washington, June 25, 1868.

To the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, and others:

\* \* \* The impeachment of the President was a most extraordinary event, and will constitute a remarkable chapter in our country's history. The conduct of the President almost from the beginning of his administration had been such as to render him obnoxious to the suspicion of designing to defeat the cherished object of those who had elected him, and of plunging the country back into a condition little better than that from which it had been rescued at so vast a sacrifice. It was not only humiliating, but irritating in the extreme.

\* \* \* I do not wonder that the idea of impeachment was popular, nor did it surprise me that but few should stop to consider that the long catalogue of the President's alleged offenses prior to the removal of Mr. Stanton had for the most part been under investigation by a learned and able committee of the House, and had been reported upon, and that the House by a large majority had voted against impeachment for those offenses.

The President was arraigned upon specific charges. Although the offenses were political, the proceeding itself I could not but regard as of a judicial character. The constitution of the tribunal, the oath imposed upon the members, impressed me with the belief that I was bound to lay aside all prejudice against the individual, and to try

---

\* *Letters and Recollections*, John Murray Forbes. II, 164-66.

him solely upon the law and the facts, the crimes and misdemeanors charged. \* \* \* The members were, to be sure, servants of the people, responsible to them, but only as judges are for an honest decision; all the attempts to coerce a decision by outside pressure, by appeals to party obligation, by threats and vituperation, were as wrong as if applied to any case of private right before any court in the land, and subversion of justice and of public and private morality. I considered the matter entirely beyond and above party jurisdiction. For the vote I gave I offer no excuse or apology, and ask no vindication; nor do I consider myself entitled to any special credit for courage or conscientiousness in the discharge of what I considered an imperative duty.

Andrew D. White in his *Autobiography*, II, 147, calls Mr. Fessenden's action "an example of Spartan fortitude, of Roman heroism worthy to be chronicled by Plutarch," and says, "The time will come when a statue will commemorate his great example."

To Mr. Grimes.

Washington, June 24, 1868.

We are getting along stupidly as usual here. The impeachers are not particularly happy, though most of them have become very civil. Wade is said to be very cross, and refuses to be comforted. I am told that Forney says the party had a narrow escape. I am informed that General Grant talks well and properly, as a sensible man should. His particular friends and organs have come to the conclusion that they cannot afford to throw away any support.

I shall decline the Boston invitation. I could not avoid saying something about Sumner's resolutions, but I have treated them respectfully, and said nothing of him. Every day he gets some hard rubs in the Senate all round. Yesterday I was obliged to defend him, as he was badly treated.

Evarts' nomination is to be bitterly opposed by Congress and others, but I hardly think he can be rejected, though there are a great many fools in the Senate. Stanton I never hear spoken of.

I am glad to hear that you continue to improve.

July 2. I struck out of my Boston letter all that related to Sumner. I am glad that you like the letter. It was not easy to tell what not to say.

Mr. Grimes to Mr. Fessenden.

Bath, Maine, July 7, 1868.

\* \* \* I have not heard of a man here who disapproved of your course after he came to understand it. Nor did I in Boston. I discovered that Hooper [Samuel] telegraphed and went to Boston, while



the matter was pending, to get up a public meeting in favor of conviction and it was to head off that movement that R. H. Dana, Jr., introduced his resolution into the House [Legislature of Massachusetts] where he was chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and which came near passing that Body.

From the extracts I have seen of Butler's [B. F.] report, I judge that it is the most discreditable public paper ever issued in this country, and to permit it to go to the world unaccompanied by the evidence on which it was based is infamous, and in my opinion involves in the infamy all who are party to it, and agree to it.

In April, 1869, Mr. Grimes went to Europe in hope of regaining his health. It improved in London, but in Paris a second attack of paralysis again prostrated him. When able to hold a pen, he wrote Mr. Fessenden:

Paris, July 9, 1869.

Your welcome letter came duly to hand. \* \* \* This attack closes up my political career. I shall never, I am sorry to say, sit by your side as a member of the Senate again. \* \* \* There is one thing we lack in America more than anything else, to make up an accurate history of our country, and that is, memoirs of public men. I am greatly struck with that fact here, where they have ever been so abundant. What kind of history can any man coming after us make up of the last ten years from the newspapers? None at all. Now, you have lived in the most eventful period of our country's history. You have had a leading part in public affairs for twenty-five years; you have a cool head, a retentive memory, a facile pen. I insist that you ought in justice to the future, in behalf of your own memory, and for the common good, to spend a few leisure hours every day in preparing your memoirs. You need not take up subjects *seriatim*, begin with any one of the many interesting topics, and after one is completed, you will be more in the humor to begin another. If you do not choose to publish them in your own time, leave them to be published in some future time, in vindication of your memory, and to promote the cause of truth.

The last of Mr. Fessenden's letters to Mr. Grimes was the following:

Portland, August 8, 1869.

I was rejoiced, and my mind relieved to get a letter in your own handwriting, for I had heard a rumor of your second attack, and felt much alarmed. I am grieved to learn how much you have been afflicted. Under the skilful treatment you can find in Paris, I shall still hope to see you again in your old place before I leave the Senate, if not at so early a day as I could wish—unless you retire under

the advice of those best able to judge of what your permanent good requires. \* \* \*

[As to re-election to the Senate] What the result will be I cannot foresee, and on my own account do not much care, for I am about tired of the whole thing. I shall be a candidate, for duty to myself and the State requires it of me. But I shall contend at some disadvantage, for I will not use the means that will be used against me. If money is to be used, be it so. It will not be used by or for me. I will have no hand in corrupting legislative morals. If elected, it must be on my merits, and because the people so desire. For corrupt and corrupting honors I have no desire. My hands are clean thus far, and I mean to keep them so. Any but an honest and high-minded people I have no desire to serve. If Maine desires that her Senators shall be elected by petty newspaper and office-seeking politicians, it is very clear that I shall not be one of them, nor, in such a case, do I wish to be—and that is the end of it.

\* \* \* Take good care of yourself, my dear friend, and believe me with the kindest regards to Mrs. Grimes and Mary [afterwards Mrs. W. B. Allison] Ever yours most truly,  
Hon. James W. Grimes. W. P. FESSENDEN.

In reply Mr. Grimes wrote from Switzerland:

August 31, 1869.

Your letter of the 8th has just reached me in the midst of the Savoy Alps, being douched and soaked in hot sulphur water.

Perhaps you have observed that I have resigned my place in the Senate. I regret to leave on your account, and on Trumbull's.

We shall not return to America this year. We have it in contemplation to spend the winter in Italy, a considerable part of it in Rome, and I shall take the liberty to kiss the pope's great toe on your account, and in your behalf. Read Milton's invocation beginning

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints!"

and then fancy that we are right among the descendants of those slaughtered saints.

In the night of the same day the letter was written, Mr. Fessenden was seized with a fatal illness at his home in Portland, and died nine days afterward. Upon receiving the intelligence, Mr. Grimes in a letter to Mr. Lyman Cook, of Burlington, Iowa, wrote:

Vevay, Switzerland, Oct. 10, 1869.

I have never been so afflicted by the death of any man as by the sudden decease of Mr. Fessenden. He was my most intimate, sincere, and attached friend, and the sentiment was most cordially reciprocated. I knew him as no other man knew him, for he always made

me his confidant. I admired as only those admired him who knew him intimately. He was the highest-toned, truest, noblest man I ever knew. I never knew or expect to know a man who can approach him in the qualities that go to make a grand man and a noble statesman. The man does not live who can take his place in the Senate. To tell you the truth, his death has been a serious blow to me. The news nearly upset me. I have not been able to think of much else since I heard it. Only four days before the news came, I received a long, cheerful, and characteristic letter from him.

Writing later to Mr. Cook with reference to the Impeachment trial, Mr. Grimes said:

I would not exchange the recollection of that grasp of the hand and that glorified smile given me by that purest and ablest of men I have ever known, Mr. Fessenden, when I was borne into the Senate chamber on the arms of four men, to cast my vote, for the highest distinction of life.

Senator James Dixon, of Connecticut, had said in a letter to Mr. Fessenden:

It is due mainly to you and Grimes that the country was saved from seeing a President removed when any party desired it. This was averted by a degree of courage and patriotism the world has never seen surpassed. My respect for men who resisted a tremendous influence brought to bear upon them is too great for ordinary language to express.

George W. Julian, a representative from Indiana, said, twenty years afterward:

I was one of the many men whose partisan madness and exasperation carried them headlong into the Impeachment movement, but I was not long in discovering my mistake; and no man is more willing than myself to do honor to the brave men who faced the wrath and scorn of this party in 1868.\*

In the Memorial Addresses delivered in Congress three months after Mr. Fessenden's death, Senator George H. Williams, of Oregon (Judge of the First District of Iowa, 1847-'52), said of him:

When he spoke, he bore himself proudly, and with graceful ease, his nerves firm and electric as a Damascus blade, always choosing simple language. Few beholding his imperial bearing would suspect that some nervous prostration followed every effort. He had no

---

\**Iowa Historical Record*, VIII, 360.



taste for grandiloquent oratory, but of that unaffected speech which is in earnest to force conviction, he was a consummate master. Fitted to shine in society, he usually avoided it, to the regret of his friends, as they felt that he would have been more widely beloved, had he been less of a recluse. Those who were invited to his home found him cordial in manner, fascinating in conversation, a brilliant talker, often speaking with humor, more willing to show his learning, his love of poetry, and his literary treasures at his own fireside than in any public theater.

Senator Sumner said:

During the whole period of the war, when appropriations were beyond precedent in the world's history, Mr. Fessenden's influence swayed the Senate, and what all our best generals were in the army he was in the financial field.

Hannibal Hamlin (Vice President, and presiding officer of the Senate, 1861-'5), said:

The duties and victories of civil life are as important as those of arms, and the statesman, who aids in wisely directing the councils of the Nation, should be held in as cherished remembrance as he who successfully commands our armies in the field. Such is the position the historian will assign Mr. Fessenden.

---

## THE ORIGATION OF ORGANIC FORMS.

BY DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

On November 5, 1907, the editor of *The Annals* wrote to his lifelong friend, the eminent scientist Dr. Charles A. White, once State Geologist of Iowa, as follows:

Dear Dr. White:

Your kind letter of recent date was forwarded to me at my home in Boone, where I had the pleasure of reading it some days ago. I was very glad to hear from you; glad that you are still able to write friendly and entertaining letters. I understand you to say that you have ceased writing for publication. I regret this because I have valued your contributions to *The Annals* very highly. I wish that you might still write an article upon the Mutation Theory. I believe that you are the leading exponent of that theory in this country and you understand the views of Professor de Vries probably more thoroughly than any other man in this country. I be-

lieve it would please your old Iowa friends, if we could publish an article from your pen, giving an analysis and outline of that new theory which seems destined to become one of very much discussion during the next decade. So believing, I hope you will reconsider your determination not to write any more for publication, and send me the article before the end of the year.

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES ALDRICH.

Dr. Charles A. White, Washington, D. C.

In reply Dr. White wrote as follows:

My Dear Mr. Aldrich:

The desire which you expressed to me in a recent letter to make *The Annals of Iowa* a record, not only of what the people of our State have done, but of the part they have taken with reference to current subjects of thought, is especially appropriate because such records are a part of the intellectual history of the commonwealth. There are, however, many reasons why I do not feel equal to the task which you have proposed to me of writing for *The Annals* a formal essay upon the history and present status of the various theories concerning the origination of organic forms which have been held since Iowa began its political existence, including special reference to the latest of them, the mutation theory of Professor Hugo de Vries. The facts which you refer to in a letter, that I have lived contemporaneously with every American naturalist who has published results of any systematic work, that I have had personal cognizance of all the theories referred to as they have successively prevailed and that I have often taken public part in their discussion, are of themselves sufficient to indicate that the time has come for me to lay aside my pen, at least as regards subjects which require exhaustive treatment to be of any value. Still, in view of our intimate friendship of many years I have written for you, in the style of our familiar conversations, the following discursive account of my personal experiences and opinions with reference to those theories and to the men who have accepted and advocated them respectively.

Although men have naturally speculated upon the manner of origin of organic forms ever since they began to study and classify them, only two principal theories pertaining to that

subject have prevailed, or, as it is generally expressed, only two theories of the origin of species, have been favorably received among cultivated people. These are the theory of special creation and that of evolution. The other theories of which I shall speak are subdivisions of the latter.

The theory of special creation, as the modern naturalist has held it, has required of him the belief that the specific, generic, family, and ordinal forms of animals and plants are the expression in earthly materials of categories of creative thought in the Divine Mind; and that the homologies of structure which are found in the species which constitute the respective classes and orders have, in each case, originated in accord with an archetypal plan which was also divinely conceived. It also required belief that every species was produced suddenly as a complete and permanent entity and, having had no antecedent existence, the generation of its kind and its heredity necessarily began after that act, and had no connection with its origin. The theory was purely speculative and quite illogical. It gave the inquirer not even a suggestion as to the method of execution of the creative act, or whether it is still occasionally performed in such a manner that it might be possible for some person to witness it.

I found this theory to be at least tacitly held by all the naturalists with whom I came in contact when, as a boy, seventy years ago, I first began to study nature and to question every naturalist with whom I could get a hearing. Not one of them ever rebuffed me, for the true naturalists always loves an inquisitive boy. That theory prevailed until I had myself become the author of several paleontological papers, all based upon Iowa fossils and all bearing tacit reference to the then prevailing theory. Indeed, I did not abandon that method of thought until about the year 1866.

The people generally, especially those who held any definite religious belief, adhered firmly to the theory of special creation until the mental battle was finally won by the naturalists. For the devout naturalist the belief in special creations was an agreeable one, for he felt that he was dealing with living forms just as they came from the hand of the Creator and if,



in the study of fossil remains, or when exploring those regions of the earth in which primeval faunas and floras still prevail, he discovered new species of animals or plants, he felt that he was specially favored in being the first to look upon forms that had been the result of divine conception and special creative acts. He who held such views, however, usually had little disposition to philosophize, and the subject was to him purely one of sentiment and faith. He did not pretend to know how the creative act was performed: it was enough for him to know that his God performed it.

My early associates were peculiarly earnest men, and thought seriously and honestly upon the subject of the origin of species, although they seldom referred to it in either writing or speech. That their mental attitude, however, was unsettled upon that subject was shown by the readiness with which they accepted the theory of evolution when the great revolution in biological thought, which I am about to mention, swept over not only our own country but the whole world. It is to me a grateful remembrance that such men were my earliest mentors and that many of them remained my personal friends as long as they lived. It was those men who laid the foundations of biological science in America and as the years went on, their numbers and the effectiveness of their work increased. Among the leaders of this group of pioneer naturalists may be mentioned Agassiz, Dana, Gray, Hall, Newberry, Torrey and many of their contemporaries whose names are familiar to every naturalist, even of the present day. All these men were gifted with clear insight into the mysteries of nature and all were self-taught as naturalists for, up to the time I now refer to, about the middle of the last century, the curriculum of no American college provided for adequate instruction in even the elements of any branch of biological science. Chairs for several of the branches were soon afterward established in the principal colleges, and those self-taught naturalists became the first professors who occupied them.

In 1846 Professor Louis Agassiz began to lecture on zoology at Harvard University and his success soon made him popularly the most prominent scientific personality in the world.

Many of his contemporary naturalists were quite as able as he, but no person was ever more successful in awakening public, as well as special, interest in biology, and no person ever had greater success than he in drawing young men to its study. I mention him particularly in this connection because, when the great revolution in biological thought occurred he, almost alone of the naturalists in our country, attempted to stem the tide; but it was all to no purpose. Darwin's book, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*, like a firebrand, set the thinking world ablaze. The first edition was published in 1859 and other editions followed, all reaching our country when events were culminating in our civil war. Even the mad rush of battle could not prevent men from following the progress of the far-reaching revolution in scientific thought of which that book was the chief exciting cause. When the war was ended thousands of returning soldiers and other young men thronged the schools to recover lost opportunities for education. The students of biology, almost without exception, became earnest advocates of the Darwinian theory, and many of them went farther in its advocacy than the honest and cautious author himself had ventured. Even the special students of Agassiz accepted the theory of the origin of species as propounded by Darwin. A few of the older and more conservative naturalists of our country accepted that theory tentatively or, to use their own words, "as a working hypothesis;" but even this faint opposition soon ceased. Until his death in 1873, Professor Agassiz continued to teach the views which he had always inculcated and, although he made effective use in his teaching of the weak points in Darwin's theory, little heed was given to the unpopular side of that much discussed subject. As time passed, however, naturalists began to give more attention to those weak points, a large part of which Darwin himself had frankly and carefully discussed, especially in the later editions of his work. I need to make no extended mention of the hostile attitude that many people assumed, especially the leaders of the church, toward evolution, and only remark that in the earlier years of the controversy it was exceedingly bitter and that as knowl-

edge of the real character of the theory increased such opposition decreased until it is now rarely met with.

The term "evolution theory," as it is often broadly used, is applicable to so many subjects, not only biological but astronomical and physical; and even to the human and social sciences, that the term "thesis" would logically be more appropriate for that general use. I shall of course use the term evolution theory in this connection only with reference to its biological signification. In this sense that theory requires the belief that every now existing animal and plant, not excepting man, has been genetically produced along collateral and diverging chronological lines, beginning far back in geological time with minute single-celled organisms, such as those to which the names monad and infusoria are generally applied. That theory has hitherto not included inquiry as to the origination of those first forms of life for, as a rule naturalists considerably decline to concern themselves with pre-determinate causes.

The theory of organic evolution, as it is generally accepted, maintains that those simple original forms of life contained potentially the germs of all possible future forms, and that all the animals and plants which now exist, and all that ever have existed, have resulted from the genetic unfolding of those germs. That is, all those forms were derived from pre-existing forms by the ordinary process of natural generation. No person now rationally questions the fact of evolution of organic forms; the prevailing differences of opinion all have reference to the manner in which evolution has been accomplished. I therefore now lay aside all references to the old belief in special creation as having no scientific basis. With the next following paragraph I also discontinue references to the great theory of organic evolution and to the greater thesis of universal evolution because they are unquestionable from a scientific view and need no verbal elucidation.

The theory of organic evolution was proposed by de Maillet as early as 1758, a hundred years before Darwin's great work appeared. Before the appearance of that work also, Darwin's grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, Goethe, the poet-philosopher,



Lamarck, Geoffroy St. Hilaire and more than twenty other authors published their advocacy of that theory. It may be said in passing that, because men are so little inclined to leave the beaten paths of thought until marshalled on less trodden paths by a master mind, the authority of those able men, with the truth on their side, produced but little impression upon the then prevailing theory of special creation. It may also be truthfully said that even among the naturalists of those days little interest was taken in the views which those writers enunciated before Darwin's great work was published. Even the main features of Darwin's theory had been incidentally recognized by a few other men, but he formulated his theory so fully and admirably that its acceptance was assured. Therefore it hardly need be mentioned that Charles Darwin did not originate, and never claimed to have originated, the theory of evolution. The object of his famous work was to show how, according to his conclusions, evolution of organic forms has been accomplished. He required a comprehensive volume in which to express his views, but I must try to give you a summary of them in a few sentences.

The leading proposition of Darwin's theory may be stated as follows:—Variation is a constant and natural condition with all animals and plants, no two individuals, even of the same parentage, ever being exactly alike. The terms fluctuating, common and gradual variation are often applied to this kind of instability of smaller organic details. These variations are known, at least in a general way, to every one, and they are especially familiar to those who have practical knowledge of the waters and of field and wood-craft. One thus knows every tree, and every leaf of it, at sight; and yet he never saw any tree or any leaf exactly like another. Animals are similarly variable. Much as the birds of a flock resemble one another, and much as that resemblance enables us to distinguish them from other kinds of birds, no two of them are ever alike in all details of bodily structure, plumage and habits. Darwin assumed that species are produced by the accumulation of these, and correlated kinds of variation through long periods of time, by a process so slow that a human life is far too short

in which to witness any material change. The slowness assumed by Darwin's theory is such, indeed, that the process of specific variation by natural selection could hardly be detected, even by a long succession of generations of men trained to biometrical observation.

With that central idea of the origin of species by the accumulation of ordinary natural variation, Darwin proceeded to show what phenomena have prevailed which he believed were sufficient to modify, accelerate, or retard the process of evolution. These phenomena include the various conditions of environment under which the animals or plants exist, chief among which, as the title of his book denotes, is that form of vital competition that is usually designated as natural selection, and which Darwin thus defines in a single sentence: "This preservation of favorable variations and the rejection of unfavorable variations I call natural selection." The terms "survival of the fittest" and "the struggle for existence" are also often used with reference to the same subject. Darwin justly shows that animals and plants multiply themselves so rapidly that, if they met with no adverse conditions they would soon cover the earth with their progeny; but because of the prevalence of various adverse conditions and of the difference in vitality and adaptability of individuals there is a constant struggle in which the more vigorous survive and the weaker perish. The claim, however, that this struggle is a factor in the origination of species is vigorously denied, especially by Professor de Vries.

Every reader of Darwin's book will observe that while he has presented an astonishing array of facts which he applies in support of his theory, it is in important respects a speculative one. Even its main proposition cannot be demonstrated because it required a length of time which has no known limit or ratio. For example, the oldest known fossiliferous strata in the geological series, which are much older than the oldest of the Lower Silurian, contain remains of invertebrates belonging to no less than five of the six sub-kingdoms which compose the animal kingdom; namely, the Mollusca, Annulosa, Annuloida, Coelenterata, and Protozoa; remains of the sub-

kingdom Vertebrata only being absent. Those remains show that a large proportion of the species which then existed were as highly organized as are any of their kind which exist to-day. That is, the progeny of those early forms have come down to our time in lines which are nearly parallel; or they have so little evolutionary divergence that they indicate only slight progressive differentiation for the successive generations. Therefore, if we bound a chronological column representing those early forms and their descendants by an imaginary straight line upon each side of it, and extend those lines back into the abyss of time until they meet at a converging point which shall be assumed to represent the time of introduction of the first life upon the earth, we shall have an evolutionary parallax which will carry that point back to a time inconceivably remote. That immeasurable antiquity of the origin of life upon the earth is really required by the Darwinian theory and belief in the accuracy of that assumption is accepted by those who have adopted that theory without qualification. The possibility that the earth has existed so long in a habitable condition for animals and plants is positively denied by able physicists and astronomers, and it is no less difficult for a layman to believe. It is this requirement for illimitable time and the production of systematic species by the accumulation of common variation, to which the strongest objection is made by those who oppose the Darwinian theory.

Among his numerous writings Darwin proposed the theory of pangenesis in support of his views of heredity which, in its chief features, is strangely like a theory that was enunciated by Democritus in his Atomic System, four hundred years before Christ. Darwin assumed that gemmules, or infinitely minute granules, derived from all parts of the body, circulate through the body and finally gather in the germ cells. These gemmules, having the power of reproducing the cells from which they were derived, endow the germ cell, in bud or ovule, with the power to produce a complete individual. The cells and their contents, the nuclei and protoplasts, are readily seen under the microscope, but the pangenetic gemmules are beyond the reach of vision and their existence is therefore theoretical.



The foregoing paragraph, with which I close direct reference to Darwin's labors is of special importance with relation to the labors of Professor de Vries, which culminated in his mutation theory. Professor de Vries is a botanist and his experiments and demonstrations have hitherto been confined to plants, but he logically believes that his conclusions will be found applicable to animals also. In his investigations he carried the pangenetic idea beyond the limits which were assigned to it by Darwin and in 1889 he published his views on that subject in a small volume entitled *Intracellulare Pangenesis*, in which work he deals with molecular conditions within the cells. He hypothetically assumes that every heritable attribute is attached to a material vehicle within the living protoplasmic substance of the cell. These vehicles, together with their respectively associated attributes, he calls pangenes and claims that they enter into the structure of all living protoplasm. He says, "Each heritable attribute, be the species ever so numerous through which it has descended, has its own special kind of pangenes. Many such kinds of pangenes are associated together in every organism and they increase in number with the increase of organic differentiation." A part of the pangenes are functionally grouped within the cell, especially the germ cell, and more particularly within the nucleus. Their progeny are transported to and from the various parts of the organism along the protoplasmic streamlets that radiate from, and connect together, the protoplasts, or cell contents, of all the living parts of the organism.

It was while formulating this theory of intracellular pangenesis that Professor de Vries conceived the idea of his mutation theory, which is now before the world. The following translation from among the formal statements made by the distinguished author in his great work presents his idea of specific mutation concisely:

The attributes of organisms are built up of fixed and sharply defined units [the pangenes]. These units combine in groups, and in the kindred of species the same units and groups are reproduced. The origination of a new unit signifies a mutation. Every addition of a unit to a group constitutes a step, originates a new group and separates the new form sharply and fully, as an individual species, from the one out of which it has been produced. The new species

is at once such, and originates from the former species without apparent preparation and without gradation. Each attribute of course arises from the one previously present, not by their common variation but by one sudden change. Provisionally, one may compare these changes, but only in the simplest manner, with chemical substitution.

Since I began to speak of pangenesis we have been beyond the aid of either vision or palpation and upon the border-land of the knowable. Let us return to the field where Professor de Vries demonstrated his theories by practical experimentation. The ten years following the publication of his *Intracellulare Pangenesis* were devoted to the collection and collation of facts in support of his already conceived theory of mutation. He reviewed the floras of many regions and gathered a large number of plants from their natural habitats into the University garden at Amsterdam for experimentation. The story of his labors is of absorbing interest, but I need now only say that, with all the advantages of cultivation and protection which he gave to his selected plants few, if any, of them showed any more indication of mutability than did those which he had long studied in the field. Finally, however, a few miles from Amsterdam, he found specimens of the American evening primrose, *Oenothera Lamarckiana*, which had become acclimated and very abundant in Holland, both wild and cultivated, to be in an active state of mutation. Among the abundant typical specimens of that species he found two specific forms which were new to him and which he believed had been then and there spontaneously derived from *Oe. Lamarckiana*. Transferring these new forms, together with many plants of the common form, to his experimental gardens he obtained by artificial breeding a repetition of the new forms which he had discovered in the wild state, and also several other new species, all being direct progeny of *Oe. Lamarckiana*. Moreover, some of the new species became themselves mutable and gave origin to other new species, until the new ones numbered not less than half a dozen.

The new species thus produced were clearly distinct in essential attributes from the parent species and from all other known species of the genus *Oenothera*. Moreover, by sub-

sequent breeding Professor de Vries found those attributes to be as heritable and invariable as are those of any other species. As a rule, however, the differences between these newly originated species are not so great as are those between the ordinarily recognized species of systematic classification.

These initiative forms Professor de Vries designates as experimental species. They enter at once into the struggle for existence with all associated plants, even with the parent form and its other mutated progeny. In this struggle multitudes of new species doubtless perish and leave no sign that they have ever existed, for the struggle itself in all such cases is conspicuous evidence of nature's extravagant wastefulness. Such perishing, together with additional mutations, makes gaps between the surviving experimental species, which are broader than the original initiative gaps. The competitive struggle also naturally tends to bring the victorious experimental species to the prominent condition of those which are commonly recognized in systematic biological work.

The evening primroses bear an abundance of seed which, in reproduction, are generally as true to the parent species as are the seeds of any other plant. In no case did Professor de Vries find all the seeds of any plant, or all the seeds of a single pod, in the mutative condition. On the contrary, he found only a very small percentage of the seeds of any one of those plants to be mutable. Of these, some might occupy separate pods, or all of them might occupy a single pod; and each one of the mutative seeds might give origin to a plant of a different species. All the mutated species might be new, or a part of them might be repetitions of former mutations. We are to understand that in every such case there was a different disturbance and rearrangement of the pangenes in the germ cell of the mutating seeds, although they were produced by the same plant in the same pod; and those variously mutating seeds might have grown closely adjacent to each other and to normal seeds. It is also important that the specific status of the parent plant was in no way affected by the fact that it had given mutative origin to a part of its progeny.



Up to the time of the publication of his great work, *Die Mutationstheorie* in 1901, Professor de Vries had discovered no other species in the mutative condition besides *Oe. Lamarckiana* and its progeny, but there is reason to believe that others have since been discovered. This fact leads to the statement of a specially important feature of the mutation theory as enunciated by Professor de Vries. According to the published views of that author, his theory involves the immutability, as well as the mutability, of species. That is, aside from the ever-present common variation of organic forms, which has no phylogenetic connection with mutation, immutability is the rule, mutability the exception. He concludes that, with rare exceptions, all species pass the greater part of their existence as such in the immutable state and that their apparent stability is real when in that state.

While Professor de Vries was preparing his *Mutationstheorie* for publication I was experimenting with tomato plants in my garden. For two separate seasons I had obtained very remarkable results from my usual sowing of seeds of the Acme tomato, which is a typical and well-known variety of *Lycopersicum esculentum*. Every plant of both of those crops was a typical *L. solanopsis* or "potato-leaved tomato," and every plant bore one and the same new variety of fruit for both seasons. That is, there was in these cases not only a specific plant mutation but a varietal fruit change. I obtained at this time advance numbers of Professor de Vries' great work and became convinced that I also had induced a case of mutation, but as it differed by its remarkable comprehensiveness from the cases described by Professor de Vries I called it aggregate mutation, and have often so designated it in my publications.

Within the past year Dr. O. F. Cook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, who is making special studies of the species and varieties of cotton plants, has discovered several cases of aggregate mutation among them. These cases are quite parallel with my cases of tomato mutation and the existence of that kind of mutation among plants may therefore

be accepted as established. The determinate\* cause of the disturbance and rearrangement of the pangenes in Professor de Vries cases acted for each mutation upon only a single seed, chosen from among hundreds of associated normal seeds. Accepting the theory of intracellular pangenes as applicable to the cases of aggregate mutation we must assume that the determinate cause has acted upon every seed, of every fruit, of every plant of the whole crop.

There are at least seven great groups of parasitic plants, three of which groups are well-known in our country as dodders, mistletoes and broom-ropes respectively; and another group is equally common and includes the louse-warts, painted-cups, and many other equally well-known plants. They all bear flowers and fruits such as characterize the phenogams, flowering plants, and all the groups are, by their parasite characters, clearly distinct from one another and from all other plants. One cannot doubt that in the great evolution of the vegetable kingdom they all become phenogams before they become parasites. That is, they originated by degradation from higher forms, and were not progressively developed from lower forms. Because the parasitic characters of each group are so distinctly defined and because no trace of the ancestral lineage of any of those characters has been discovered, I assume that each group of parasitic characters has originated by an abnormal aggregate mutation somewhat similar to, but wholly distinct from, the cases of aggregate mutation already mentioned.

There is a prevalent popular belief that species, especially of plants, originate as fertile hybrids from the union of pre-existing species. It need not be doubted that some, perhaps many, such cases occur, even in the wild state, but that fact does not account for the origin of those parent species. Moreover, Mendel long ago showed that in cases of fertile hybrids the progeny tended to revert to, and become lost in, the pre-potent one of the two parent species. It is therefore plain

---

\*The terms "determinate" and "predeterminate" are necessarily used somewhat loosely because we have so little definite knowledge of those causes. I use the latter term as the more comprehensive one.

that hybridity is not a fruitful source of new species in a systematic sense.

The foregoing remarks on aggregate mutation of tomato and cotton plants, the probable origination by abnormal aggregate mutation of the flowering parasites, and hybridity, are introduced to show that the scope of origination of organic forms has been much more comprehensive than is merely the origination of species, even in its most comprehensive scope. Besides this, the origination of the heritable varieties, races, breeds, etc., is doubtless similar in character to that of species. The ordinary definition of a species is that it is a sub-division of a genus and composed of individuals which have characteristics of structure, form, color and habits in common, and which reproduce their kind without material variation by successive generations. A species however is not a definite quantity. Some are conspicuous by the comprehensiveness of their attributes or characters and their great difference from other species of the same genus, while other recognized species differ so little from one another that many naturalists regard them as only heritable varieties. Indeed, much of the present disagreement among naturalists as to the manner of the origin of species is connected with the differences of opinion which they hold as to what constitutes a species. The foregoing discussions are necessarily brief, but they are sufficient to show that while there have been remarkable changes of opinion concerning the manner of origin of organic forms the question is still an open one among naturalists.

You ask me to give you my personal estimate of the mutation theory. The remarks which I have already made indicate this but I may add that my disposition toward it is favorable. I cannot believe that the facts which Professor de Vries has published will ever be disproved, and his theory accords with well-known biological conditions concerning which the Darwinian theory is deficient. I also do not think that any better explanation of the molecular movements within the protoplasmic contents of cells can be made than is that which is offered by his theory of Intracellulare Pangenesis. Still, I confess to grievous disappointment that so few plants have been found in



the mutative condition. To meet the developmental requirements of the vegetable kingdom there should be somewhere a large number of species of plants in the mutative state, but hitherto they have not been discovered. Botanists should give the subject no rest until this vital question is settled.

Faithfully yours,

March 1, 1908.

CHARLES A. WHITE.

---

## REPORT ON OPERATIONS OF IOWA TROOPS IN MISSOURI IN JUNE, 1861.

BY COL. SAMUEL R. CURTIS.

In the course of its work in November, 1907, the commission having in charge the preparation of a complete roster of Iowa soldiers, sailors and marines discovered a most interesting military report. It is in the original manuscript form such as was prepared customarily at the front, and is subscribed in his own hand by Samuel R. Curtis, at the time Colonel of the Second Iowa Infantry. It is published below verbatim. No Iowa document appears to have referred to it, while opinions appended support the belief that it was never before published.

E. R. H.

Society of the Army of the Tennessee,  
Office of Recording Secretary,  
Cincinnati, O., Dec. 12, 1907.

My Dear Mr. Aldrich:

The only reference that I find to Curtis's 2d Iowa on the Hannibal and St. Joe road is Vol. 3 of War Records of the Rebellion at page 388, where Lyon says: "Col. Curtis is, I suppose, on the Hannibal and St. Joe road; vigorous measures should be shown the disorderly in that region. \* \* \*" I am quite sure that the report in question has not been published.

Yours sincerely,

CORNELIUS CADLE, Rec. Sec.

War Department, The Adjutant General's  
Office, Washington, D. C., December 7, 1907.

Hon. Charles Aldrich,  
Des Moines, Iowa.

Sir,—I have the honor to advise you that nothing has been found of record in the War Department to show the receipt of such a re-

port [as that of Col. Curtis, June 27th, 1861, detailing operations of his command after leaving Keokuk]. Accordingly it has never been published by the Department.

Very respectfully,

F. C. AINSWORTH,  
The Adjutant General.

Camp Lyon, St. Joseph, Mo.,  
June 27, 1861.

Brig. Genl N Lyon Comdg.

Dear Sir:

Your telegraphic order directing me to raise all the forces I could muster in my vicinity and forthwith take military possession of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and if possible move forward to Lexington, Missouri and to suppress rebellion and insurrection reached me at Keokuk June 13, 1861 at 1 o'clock A. M. and at 5 o'clock A. M. the 2nd Regiment Iowa Volunteers under my command was embarked on board the steamer Jeannie Deans. Immediately after receiving your order I notified Col. J. F. Bates Commanding the 1st Regiment Iowa Volunteers, who at my request ordered his command to follow for the purpose of uniting in the expedition.

The Regiments numbered about 2,000 men, well armed but otherwise indifferently equipped. Upon arriving at Hannibal in pursuance of your instructions I published a General Order assuming Command of the military forces at Hannibal and within twenty miles of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad.

The forces at Hannibal at that time were my own regiment, a detachment of about 450, from the 16th Regiment Illinois Volunteers under command of Lieut. Col. Wilson and a force of 250 Home Guards under command of Major Josiah Lamb. At that time I was not aware of there being any troops at St. Joseph. I immediately issued special orders to Lieut. Col. Wilson of the Illinois Volunteers to prepare his command for a forward movement along the line of the Hannibal & St. Joseph R R— and strengthened by three companies of my own Regiment. Myself in command of the detachment at 11 o'clock A. M. of the same day—June 13th, 1861—I moved west along the line of the road.

At Hunneville some arrests were made and several who fled were fired upon, but as I think without effect. The train passed on to Shelbina where a Secession flag was captured and a pole cut down. At Macon City a printing office was seized and a seditious sheet suppressed. Several prisoners were taken in our advance to this point and the taking of secession flags and scattering of rebels created much sensation.

Lieut. Col. Wilson's entire command was stationed near Chillicothe to guard the bridge across Grand River and to protect the line of the Rail Road in that vicinity. Details from Company "A" Lieut. T. J. McKinney Commanding and Company "B" Captain Littler of the 2nd Iowa Regiment were stationed at and near Hudson. Company "G" Capt. Baker 2nd Iowa Regiment was placed at an important bridge near Palmyra.

Before leaving Hannibal I had directed Companies "H" Captain Cowles, "I" Captain Cox, and "K" Captain Cloutman, to take position on the heights commanding the city of Hannibal previously occupied by the Illinois troops. The remaining Companies of my command and the Home Guard under Major Hunt were quartered in and around the Station House at South Hannibal to be in readiness to move, should they be so directed. Having thus secured the Road to Grand River against immediate danger I returned next morning June 14th, 1861, at 7 o'clock to Hannibal where I found Col. Bates with his command—the 1st Regiment Iowa Volunteers—they having arrived some time during the night.

The necessity of taking immediate possession and control of the entire road becoming more apparent I requested Col. Bates with his command to relieve Lt. McKinney at Hudson the junction of the North Missouri R. R. and sustain that central portion of the line as he might think best. Being thus reinforced on the Eastern portion of the line, I proceeded on the 14th collecting and moving my own Regiment forward, leaving Col. Wilson's command in protection of the important bridges and other interests in the vicinity of Chillicothe.

While the detachment of my Regiment under Lieut. McKinney remained at Hudson during the nights of the 13th and



14th, the troops routed several rebel assemblies, captured six prisoners, took three kegs of powder and two locomotives of the North Missouri Railroad which they learned on reliable authority were about to be crippled to prevent transporting U. S. Troops over the road. The prisoners and locomotives were turned over to Col. Bates and the powder to my Quarter Master.

As we proceeded westward we found the rebels disbanded and taken by surprise. Passing the town of Stewartsville a private in Company "A" shot a Secessionist in the act of firing his revolver at him, a breach of discipline which I punished although the rashness of the unfortunate young man seemed to justify the homicide. But generally at our display of force the Secessionist fled in consternation. Flags, munitions of war and other evidences of armed rebellion were captured and much surprise manifested by the peaceable citizens who expressed their satisfaction at the appearance of United States troops bearing the Stars and Stripes.

I arrived at St. Joseph June 15, 1861 at 9 o'clock A. M. and encamped a short distance below the city on the bank of the Missouri River. I had thus in fifty-six hours from the time your dispatch reached me at Keokuk taken military possession of the entire road and established a sufficient guard along the line to protect it and at the same time scattered and disorganized the Rebel forces that were mustering through this portion of Missouri.

I found here in camp and in buildings within the city of St. Joseph three U. S. infantry companies under the command of Captains Sully, Steele and Gilbert, and one Company of Dragoons under command of Lieut. Armstrong numbering in all about four hundred and fifty men and two companies of Home Guards under command of Major Peabody whom I at once attached to my services.

Feeling apprehensive lest communications with the detachments along the line might be cut off, at 5 o'clock P. M. the same day of my arrival I detailed Companies "B," Captain Littler, "H" Captain Cowles and "I" Captain Cox, under the immediate command of Lieut. Col. Tuttle to return on the road

as far as the vicinity of Cameron. This was just in time to save the bridge at Cameron which was found on fire but was saved by the timely arrival of troops. Scouting parties from the Companies "B" & "H" of this detachment on the following (Sunday) morning captured in and near the town of Cameron, twenty-one prisoners, several guns, powder and shot and four secession flags. The prisoners have not been identified as in complicity with the attempt to burn the bridge, but were detained as belligerents against the General Government and members of military companies organized for the avowed purpose of aiding insurrectionary and rebellious movements against us. Many of them were men of position and influence in the vicinity in which they reside and some of them doubtless innocent sufferers.

The afternoon of the same day I again detailed three Companies "C" Captain Brewster "G" Captain Baker and "D" Lieut. Dykeman commanding the detachment under the immediate command of Capt. Brewster. This command by details stationed at different points has up to this time successfully supported the line sending out scouting parties capturing arms and ammunition and taken many prisoners all but two of whom I have released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States and giving further written assurance that they would keep the peace.

In skirmishing with the enemy along the line several rebels have been wounded and three or four probably killed. Roll-books and other papers relating to their military organizations have been captured showing extensive moves under progress to drive the State into secession and protracted civil war. Since my occupation and distribution of force as thus designated I have supported the entire line by keeping a constant vigilant movement of Engines and Cars with force concentrating companies wherever the enemy had collected with a view of making assaults and sending out parties from 5 to 15 miles to scatter rebels and keep them in perpetual consternation.

The Superintendent of the Railway Col. J. T. K. Hayward and the officers of the road generally have yielded ready obedience to my orders and the great military advantages of a Rail

Road and Telegraph have been signally illustrated. It will be seen by the disclosures eventuating from your captures at Booneville that the order of Genl Price to destroy the bridges and inaugurate hostilities on this line were issued on the 12th while your order for me to come and protect it was the same date. The least delay would have been fatal to this thoroughfare and in my judgment would have enabled the rebels in this portion of Missouri to have rallied several thousand troops at this place and for a long time destroyed the peace and prosperity of this populous and fertile portion of a country.

The certainty of this is shown by the following order of Genl Price and the report of Col. Jeff Thompson his acting Adjutant General.

(Copy)

[A 13]

Headquarters Missouri State Guard

Jefferson City Mo June 12 1861

General:—I am instructed by the Major General commanding to enclose to you the order for immediately assembling the military forces of the State.

The Governor's proclamation herewith will explain the cause and necessity of the movement.

The General desires that you will immediately on receipt of this cause all the Railroad bridges from Chariton river to Grand river to be destroyed, and cut the telegraph wires along the line.

Also procure a train sufficient to accomodate an Escort at Hudson and destroy the bridges and telegraph wires on the North Missouri Railroad. You will detail from the post of your command a sufficiently strong detachment under the command of discreet officers to carry into effect the above orders.

I am, General, very respectfully

Your Obedt serv't

HENRY LITTLE,

Asst Adj't Genl

To the Commander of the Fourth Military District

Chillicothe Livingston County Mo

(Copy)

[A 5]

Headquarters Fourth Military District

Camp Sterling Price on Platte River

May 19th 1861 12 o'clock M.



General Sterling Price Major General Commanding  
Jefferson City Mo.

Sir:—General Orders No 2 have been received through the newspapers and this command is still in camp awaiting special orders. The same inefficiency that has heretofore existed, still exists, and for want of definite instructions the forces have been reduced to a skeleton as it is impossible to enforce attendance upon the militia near their homes until sufficient power is placed in the hands of their officers or there is apprehension of actual danger.

As we cannot hear yet of our Brigadier General being appointed and as those upon whom the duty would legally devolve, are not prepared to act, I will endeavor to give to you (well knowing your Adjutant) as near as I can the available force of the Fifth District.

There is in Atchison County one company infantry, 50 men; one company cavalry 50 men.

In Holt county no companies organized but five companies reported as awaiting arms (I can get 200 men in 12 hours)

In Nodaway County same report and same number of men—these 400 can be concentrated in 48 hours at St. Joseph.

In Andrew county there are 2 companies infantry 100 men; 500 men can be made available in 36 hours.

In Buchanan county we have 4 companies infantry whose present force does not exceed 120 men but can be filled to 200 in 12 hours: 4 companies dragoons who have 120 sabres and pairs of pistols for 2 companies and 80 double barrelled shot guns for residue say 200 men.

Buchanan can be put down at 400 organized and 200 available in addition to Thornton's artillery 4 pieces and 60 men.

Platte County has but 1 company dragoons with double barrelled shot guns organized—probably 300 more available.

Clay County has 2 companies dragoons, 100 men completely armed and 50 infantry and probably 200 more available.

This is our present district but the counties of Clinton, De Kalb and Gentry which naturally belong to us can turn out—Clinton 300 men available DeKalb 100 organized 100 men available—Gentry 250 men available. And as our fight, if fight we must, will have to be done speedily and on the inherent strength and patriotism of our people, I can report as available in 48 hours at St. Joseph or where ever else you may order as follows

	organized	available
Atchison	100	100
Holt	...	200
Nodaway	...	200
Gentry	...	250
DeKalb	100	100

## IOWA TROOPS IN MISSOURI

365

Andrew	100	200
Buchanan	300	300
Platte	50	150
Clay	150	100
Clinton	...	300
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	800	1900
		800 2700

I assure you that I can concentrate 2,000 men at St. Joseph and provide for them in 48 hours. I make this simple statement hoping that matters will shortly be so arranged that such things will be done officially.

Your Obedient Servant

(signed)

COL M. JEFF THOMPSON

Inspector Act. Com'd

In the face of these extensive arrangements to scatter anarchy and revolution in this region organizations have been broken up and the peace and prosperity of the country maintained to the great satisfaction of a large majority of resident citizens and the undoubted advantage of all the people of Missouri.

While I have kept my force on duty night and day and often felt serious apprehensions because of the great length and slender force on portions of the line I tried to carry out to the utmost of my ability your orders, by directing detachments to move towards Booneville via N. Missouri railroad and sending all the regulars except the Company of cavalry down the Missouri river.

The success of your movements on the main line of operations and the final evacuation of the vicinity of Lexington have entirely disheartened the rebels and the occasional threats and movements of disorganized bands are all the disturbing elements now remaining in this region. Still a strong force should be preserved in this region to restrain resentment and prevent revolutionary reaction in event of temporary success of secession in other portions of the Union. There should be at least three regiments on this line of this road commanded by a Brigadier's rank to avoid the annoyance I have felt in consideration of respect due to the arrival of ranking officers. The 3rd Iowa Regiment having obtained arms I have

ordered it forward to take position near the center of this line, hoping thereby to give more rest to our troops and more confidence and repose in this country.

The prisoners I have taken have been generally discharged on written declarations of fealty and pledges to refrain from all future participation in secession and revolution. Two prisoners were taken before the Circuit Court on Habeas Corpus and bound over under heavy bonds to stand trial for Treason before the Circuit Court of the U. S. The trial elicited much feeling and assembled a great crowd of people. The fair and full ruling of the judge was expressed with so much force and wisdom I have directed a written report which at an early day I will submit to you, with a transcript, showing the grounds taken on the trial and the satisfactory determination and conclusion of the conflicting duties of State and Federal, civil and military agents of our Government.

I have thus given a somewhat detailed report of my movements in order to place facts fairly upon record, and in order to prevent the perpetuity of errors that have gone out from the telegraph and press giving wrong impressions to the public.

The officers and soldiers under my command deserve my commendation for their prompt and untiring cooperation during the period of this movement.

I could name many acts of gallantry but they were so general it would be unjust to discriminate. The loyal sentiment however, that prevails and predominates in the community has been the main cause of our success and it is only necessary to display the national power and the national ensigns in this portion of the country to rouse the masses to an active sympathy for the constitution, laws, and institutions which have so long and so successfully sustained the peace and prosperity of our whole country.

Hoping that my movements may merit and receive your approbation and other duties imperiously demanding my presence at Washington City I desire your indulgence by allowing







*C. E. Perkins*

my absence for 30 days during which time the command will devolve on Col Smith of the 16th Illinois Regiment.

Very respectfully

Your obedient Servant.

Saml R. Curtis

Col 2d Iowa Vols

Comg Expedition.

---

## CHARLES ELLIOTT PERKINS.

---

BY HON. THOMAS HEDGE.

---

We cannot understand a great life without some knowledge of that life's beginning and of the conditions that shaped its course, or comprehend a great character unless we discover the source of its elements, the influences that drew out and developed them. No life of our time is better worth reviewing and the character it developed better worth studying than the life and character of Charles Elliott Perkins. He was born November 24, 1840, in "the little Third Street House" in Cincinnati, the first child of James Handasyd Perkins and Sarah Elliott Perkins, but the home that he best remembered was at East Walnut Hills, then some three miles from the city, where his father bought a few acres of land and built a small house in the summer of 1845, "a very pretty place with a beautiful forest directly back of us," and to this home was given the quaint name "The Owl's Nest."

"From his father's and mother's side he came of pure New England stock and from both he inherited the best qualities of that fine race. Their ideality alike with their practical sense, their rigid conscientiousness and their saving grace of humor, their love of liberty and their profound respect for law, all these were his by right of inheritance. He was tuned therefore to the finest chords that vibrate through our common life. He was of the stuff from which the ideal American manhood is fashioned." These words spoken of his younger brother by an old familiar friend admit of no qualification when applied to him.



The scenes of his childhood, his father's and mother's training, the influence of their daily lives, the whole atmosphere of home, were exactly fitted to nurture and strengthen these native qualities. I shall seem to those who knew Mr. Perkins to anticipate some things to be said of him in here presenting his father as he appeared to his neighbors in those days:

Looking to the educated men of the country to spread abroad intelligence, respect for what is good and reverence for what is venerable, by professional labor and through schools, lectures and the press, he exerted his own influence in all these ways; so quietly, however, were his public offices performed that the amount of his exertions might have been overlooked except by careful observers. He never did anything for effect and therefore, though always busy, attracted but little attention from the busy world. He was eminently one of those—the truly great—who are felt in a thousand minute and deep relations to society, exerting the most invigorating influence without being seen or wishing to be seen. Further, his labors were remarkable for punctuality and completeness. He never left unfinished or to be done by others the work that properly belonged to himself.

Mr. William R. Channing presents this picture of him:

Day by day as I met my friend in society and public meetings, observed him in his relations to others and talked with them about him, it became evident how high was the position which quite unawares he really occupied among his fellow citizens. Nothing could have been more unpretentious than his manner as he exchanged offhand greetings as he swept along the street, or entered with gracious demeanor the crowded circles of society, or the quiet houses of friends; wherever he might be he was always himself, quite unique in his singular blending of dignity and diffidence—of firm self-reliance and habitually modest estimates—of essential respect for all, and utter disregard of conventional distinctions—of decision and reverence. A spirit of earnest intelligence, of downright good sense, of interest in great aims and indifference to trifles seemed to spread out from him and clothe him with an air of quiet power. He took naturally and as of right the attitude of brotherly kindness towards high and low, learned and ignorant, men and women, old and young, and met all on the broad table-land of manly truth. This unaffected integrity and characteristic single mindedness it plainly was that gave him such a hold on others. Always he seemed equally self-possessed and present-minded. He used unconsciously a rare skill in clear statements.

Though his life ended when he was not yet forty years old, he had accomplished much. Those who had delighted to honor his presence held in grateful honor the memory of the scholar, the historian of the west, the earnest and convincing speaker, the minister of grace and help to troubled men.

Their mother did not suffer the shock and grief of their father's death to destroy, or too deeply or too long to darken the home life of her five boys. "To the life of that home how exquisite a charm she gave and how its memory lingers with those who shared it. Sacred to us are those memories and the very walls where that beautiful womanly presence, so wholesome, strong and sweet, once bade us welcome." Mrs. Sarah Elliott Perkins made real to those who knew her Wordsworth's vision of the "perfect woman nobly planned" and better still that ideal of the ages, who stretcheth out her hand to the poor, in whose tongue is the law of kindness, who looketh well to the ways of her household, and whose children rise up and call her blessed.

The death of his father brought to the fine mind and true heart of Charles Perkins the consciousness of his special duty as henceforth the mainstay of his mother and as his younger brothers' keeper, developed his considerateness and regard for the rights of others, his faculty of helpfulness, quickened his sense of responsibility, enlarged his capacity to receive from the daily life and seasonable precept of that mother the training essential for right action and useful living; thus his real early education was at home though custom compels us to say that he was "educated" in the common schools of Cincinnati and one winter attended Mr. Bradford's school in Boston. At the age of seventeen he obtained employment as clerk in a wholesale foreign fruit store in Cincinnati, trudging forth and back from his work each day to save car fare, for their worldly condition offered no chance to indolence to dull "the spur in the blood" of this young thoroughbred. While thus at work in the summer of 1859 he received this letter:

Burlington, Iowa, June 28, 1859.

Mr. Charles E. Perkins,

Cincinnati, Ohio.

My Dear Perkins:

I have just received your note of the 24th and, filled with deep pity, hasten to enlighten you. Not know what "B. & M." means! To ye railwaye mind it typifies the Burlington and Missouri railroad—running due west from Burlington, bound for the Big Muddy—now taking breath for awhile on the banks of the Des Moines between Burlington and Ottumwa—in summer and autumn it is seventy-five miles of as pretty rail and ties as you would wish to see. You will have the title of cashier and would have a credit at the bank against which you would check for all bills as presented, duly entering the same in your books and filing them as vouchers. Not a complicated duty and not likely to overtask you. It would leave you time to study the details of the freight and passenger business—and on our short road this would naturally be more open to you than a long road, where there is subdivision of labor and more red tape. I think, myself, the place is quite a good one. Perhaps the best introduction to railway life is to commence on the construction—as rodman or engineer. But a position where you are forced to observe the cost of each and every article used and the cost of each branch of the service, can not fail, I think, to be of service to you. There will be some drudgery, of course, but there will be some pleasant work to relieve it. At the beginning of every month you will be several days on the line paying off the agents and workmen—in the fine weather this is very pleasant. The good city of Burlington, as a sojourning place, is not to be sneezed at—and the surrounding country is charming. We can boast of but two packing houses and at first you will naturally feel sad for the pigs you left behind you. Carper and I will do our best to cheer you—we are at this moment in treaty for a small house in the suburbs with trees, one and a half acres of ground and a plank walk to approach it. If successful, we can offer you as pleasant a nest as you would find even in Cincinnati or Cambridge. We have some good books and every few months a box from the east brings more. My office contains boxing gloves and foils and masks—and though I can not say "my bark is on the shore," there is a friend of mine who gladly lends me his for a little piece of silver. We will make even your small pay of thirty dollars a month leave a margin for extras.

CHARLES RUSSELL LOWELL.

And on the fourth of August he crossed the Mississippi, and took up his abode and began his new course in the town that was to be his home for his remaining forty-eight years.

Our attentive aftersight may profitably consider him at the outset of his new venture. He was not yet nineteen years old. His past was secure, in it there was nothing that was not pleasant to remember, and as he faced his future without presumption he might have faced it without fear for the qualities essential for usefulness had been rightly planted in him and so far healthily nurtured and were ready for the exactions of daily work and if need be, the uses of adversity to call them forth still further and develop their perfection. His creed or chart of conduct was very simple and was never revised from the day he left his home. Its first injunction was to learn the truth, to speak and act the truth, its wisdom taught that he was here for service, that the measure of merit, as of dignity, is usefulness, that opportunity comes with every rising sun, that "now is the accepted time" for the fulfillment of present duty, that success and destiny lie "all in the day's work." I do not think that comparison of himself with others or the consideration of their relative excellence ever occupied his mind. But that to excel himself as set forth in the precept "so to live that each to-morrow finds us farther than to-day" was often the subject of his thought. Nature had bestowed upon him the outward and visible signs of exceptional power and high quality. It is difficult to present him fairly to the reader's imagination—easy enough to say that he was of dark countenance with dark hair and eyes, that these eyes made manifest to one who met their gaze his straight, clear, all-comprehending mental vision, that his perfect head and shapely body would have made him in his youth a fit model for classic sculpture, but words cannot convey and description cannot catch that quality in his aspect from the time he reached his prime that, as in the case of Daniel Webster, made beholders take him to be physically larger than he was—not as in the case of Webster because of an air of importance, for no man high or low was ever less self-important than Mr. Perkins, but an indefinable quality that in any company made him seem to be the ruling influence and guiding spirit of them all.

He was most fortunate in his immediate associates, Lowell and Carper, both men of sterling manhood and devoted to



their work. Both went to the war. Carper became a major and was General Corse's adjutant at its close. He then returned to the road and in the line of duty as a division superintendent was killed by the falling of a bridge. And Charles Russell Lowell, after a brilliant service which revealed him as the highest type of the young American volunteer, fell at the head of the division of which he was the commanding general at Cedar Creek.

Mr. Perkins' life in Burlington began and was carried on at first on the lines marked out in the letter which we have copied. Mastering the details and technicalities of railroad operation, learning men, day by day growing in wisdom and in favor, his progress was steady and regular, without accident or eccentricity; a great character was building, a great force growing in the due course of nature. The freedom given us in these pages does not permit us to note the steps of his growth and advancement only so far as to indicate the man he was, the life he led and the man he came to be, and to meagerly illustrate his strength of purpose, the clearness of his foresight and his genuine broad-minded public spirit.

November 9, 1860, he was made assistant treasurer and land agent of the B. & M. R. R. at Burlington. September 22, 1864, he was married at Milton, Mass., to Miss Edith Forbes, the only daughter of Commodore Robert Bennet Forbes, "a man of most genial and generous temperament," famous as a shipmaster in the days before Atlantic cables, when a successful shipmaster had to be not only a bold and skillful navigator but a man of affairs, and as it were, a minister plenipotentiary of commerce in foreign lands. Real home life began again for him. Ralph Waldo Emerson affords us a glimpse of their first home, on the northeastern bluff of Burlington, and of the young folks themselves in a letter he wrote to his own home from Chicago, March 3, 1867:

Yesterday I was at Burlington for three hours and met Mr. Perkins and accompanied him home. Found Mrs. Perkins and all her engaging hospitalities. Edward was quite right in admiring her. She is a radiant wife, mother and lady of the land. I played ball with the baby, Robert, who looked like some child I knew, and she told me it was Willie Thayer. Mr. Perkins is a superior person, with

great beauty of face, form and carriage. His manners cannot be mended, so much sense, strength, courtesy and youthful grace. As we came out of the house and from the door looked over the grand view, looking twenty miles up the river and eight or ten all around us, Mrs. Perkins pointed out to me a prairie fire which enriched the picture. Mr. Perkins and I walked down to the ferry boat. The bell rang and he shook hands with me and departed—a noble youth who inspired interest and respect at once.

But the Burlington home remembered by his boys and girls, was what old settlers called “the Dills place” in the southwest quarter of Burlington, where was an orchard of apple trees (which suggested the name “The Apple Trees,” afterwards given to the family homestead) and a log house pretty large for its time. This house, Mr. Perkins, having regard for the early days, did not remove but made a part of his new house, building over and around it in such way that it became the favorite gathering place of his family and closer friends. And one may fairly suspect that the fine piece of woodland included in the Dills place determined his choice of it for his home, that in this remnant of the forest primeval he saw promise of revival of the spirit of his own boyhood, and opportunity to give his children the special pleasures which he and his brothers found in the beautiful forest by the Owl’s Nest at Walnut Hills. In these forty years the house has grown to be a great and rambling mansion and with its comfortable air of welcome, its spacious grounds, beautiful in summer with trees and grass and flowers, shows itself the dwelling-place of an ample life and abounding hospitality.

In September, 1865, Mr Perkins was appointed superintendent of the B. & M. R. R. in Iowa, which was still “seventy-five miles of as pretty rail and ties as you would wish to see.” It is easily remembered that railroad building was a hard matter in those days, grants of lands to railroads were called for by the people so earnestly that no candidate for Congress on any ticket dared to question their propriety.

“In the early part of 1856 Congress made a grant of land to aid four different railroads then organized to build lines across the State of Iowa—one from Burlington (the

B. & M.), another from Davenport, the third from Lyons via Clinton, and the fourth from Dubuque. There were patented to the Burlington road 358,000 acres. The prevailing price of these lands was \$1.25 per acre, but they were not then salable at that figure. These lands were mortgaged, but the hard times of 1857 retarded railroad building, and the road was not finished to Ottumwa, seventy-five miles, until August, 1859, or more than seven years from the time of its organization. The Civil War virtually stopped all construction and the road was not started west from Ottumwa until 1865. The Burlington was the only one of the four companies to which grants of land were made in Iowa which survived to complete its road across the State. The old Mississippi & Missouri company (now a part of the Rock Island) built from Davenport to Newton and expired; the mortgages on it were foreclosed, the stock was wiped out and with it went the land grant; there was a reorganization, a new company (the Rock Island) and the original stockholders and investors not only risked, but lost their investment. The land-aided roads from Clinton and Dubuque had much the same experience. They all had land grants twice or three times greater than the Burlington, but the credit of the men behind them was not so good. These experiences in which the Iowa railroads were born are often forgotten. It is a common thing to hear people say that the railroads were built with government land grants."\*

Some one who permitted his prejudice to obscure his memory recently wrote that "until a community had grown up sufficiently large and prosperous to make it profitable to construct a railroad into it that community got no road." This reminds the writer of what Mr. Perkins told him at Red Oak Junction one summer evening seven or eight years ago: "In the autumn of 1866 Mr. James F. Joy, then president of the C., B. & Q. came across the State in a buggy on a sort of preliminary survey looking to the extension of the road to the Missouri River. Pete Ballingall drove us, and we camped one evening within a half mile

---

\* W. W. Baldwin's History of the Burlington Route.

of this spot. Not a sign of human life was in sight, and Mr. Joy said, "I'm not in for it. This country is uninhabitable. Where will they get fences, where will they get their fuel?" This coming from Mr. Joy, who had pioneered Michigan with the Michigan Central railroad, surprised Mr. Perkins—he quietly dissented. Mr. Joy reported adversely, "but the other view prevailed." Why or how the other view prevailed Mr. Perkins didn't say. It also happened to the writer to stop at what was called Highland on the first day of June, 1869. From that height through that clear air one could see for miles in any direction, but no sign of human life or trace of human work was visible except the railroad track. We were in the present limits of the city of Creston. "The other view prevailed" with the directors and principal owners of the road, because in the six years of his employment on the road Mr. Perkins had fulfilled beyond all measure the high expectation entertained of him. His persistent painstaking, his fidelity in the day's work, his assiduous study of the business, his facility of acquiring accurate knowledge, his adequacy of resource, his understanding of men, his tact in dealing with them, his perfect truthfulness and capacity to receive the truth, his faculty of reason and the resulting gift of clearness of statement, all these, made strong their faith in the integrity of his judgment. Their own great resources with their unlimited credit were placed more and more at his disposal as the years went on and his will carried out all further enlargements of the system and extensions of its lines.

September 29, 1881, he became president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. with which the B. & M. in Iowa and B. & M. in Nebraska had been consolidated, holding that position by annual election until his retirement in 1901, and continuing to take an active part in its control as a director until his death. His administration of the road, his care for the interest of all concerned as owners or as patrons is esteemed as perfect as human wisdom could have made it. His fundamental principles were simple, as simple as the arithmetic or the copy-book. He knew that all legitimate



business is an interchange of benefits, that all commercial and all industrial interests are interwoven and interdependent, that gain based on another's loss cannot be continuous, that prosperity is the result of a game in which both sides win, that a railroad cannot succeed without value given, as well as value received, that it surely cannot succeed unless the country through which it passes can afford year after year to give it something to do.

Conscious of his own rectitude he believed in the rectitude of other men—if they were intelligent; he believed that common honesty is a matter of common sense, that men competent to manage great affairs, in proportion to their competency, or rather as the main element of their competency seek to do the right thing, that all commerce, all business, all the affairs of the world are kept running decently and in order because doing justly is the general rule of action among men of force and influence in the world, and so he had little faith in the efficacy of public commissions to promote righteousness among men in the conduct of their own affairs. “The people can have no stronger motive or desire than the owners of the railroads to prevent bad management of every kind.”

His letter of September 24, 1885, to Senator Cullom, chairman of the select committee of the Senate on Interstate Commerce, giving his views of the reciprocal rights and duties of the general public and those of the people who own and manage railroads is a compendium of the science of railroad management. It shows that in the twenty-six years since he had learned from Charles Lowell what B. & M. stood for he had taken all railroad knowledge to be his province. It is fundamental. Nothing is to be added to it to-day. It is neither to be revised nor to be answered. It is interesting as illustrating the quality of the man, his healthy conscience, his all-comprehending intelligence, his fairness, his compelling power of reasoning, his gift of statement. This letter should be admitted to the mind (if its capacity suffice) and pondered in the heart of every man who presumes to prescribe methods and rules for the men who are doing the work of the world.

He was not only a practical philosopher and economist but in his personal relations a constant guide and present friend to those who served the public and the railroad with him; exacting his best efforts from every man, there was manifest such perfect justice and human kindness in his intercourse with them and treatment of them that the best efforts seemed the only reasonable and natural efforts. There was an element of personal affection in their service on the "Q." To them it was a corporation with a soul. The title, "The Old Man" was their American way of admitting that their reverence was tempered and strengthened by more intimate regard and so the service of this railroad to the public became famous for its excellence.

But such are the contradictions in human nature that in February 1888, there was begun a strike of the locomotive engineers which had been ordered by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to enforce its claim to control in the classification and in the discharge of engineers. The President, in his report of December of that year, states: "The 2,500 men who left us on a few hours' notice had most of them been in the employ of the company for years where they filled important places and had become accustomed to one another and to their surroundings. They understood the rules of the train service which are more or less difficult and complicated and they formed a disciplined force moving as an essential part of a great machine. This part of the machine was suddenly destroyed and the task of reconstructing it had to be undertaken and performed without allowing the machine to stop or its efficiency to be impaired." We can hardly realize the weight of trouble this added to the ordinary heavy burdens carried by Mr. Perkins. There was no question of the right in his mind and no confusion of counsel among the directors. They stood by the man it had become natural to believe in, having full confidence in his resoluteness and his tact. The people along the line of the road generally endorsed his course, taking it for granted that he was right. All employed in the other branches of service supported him "with zeal, industry and courage through months of anxiety and over-

work." It would serve no good purpose to dwell on this unhappy chapter in the history of the C., B. & Q. There was no compromise. It ended in victory for Mr. Perkins. It added greatly to men's knowledge of his character and so enlarged and strengthened still further his influence, but it had imposed on him the new and painful experience of the disloyalty of men he had known and trusted for many years.

We have attempted to show how with clear mind and healthy conscience and ample powers he fulfilled all duty in his ordinary life and in the usual course of business, but certain actions known during his lifetime only by those immediately concerned have now been made public and show his recognition of duty in an aspect hard and strange. The sum of the story is that as one interested in the financial well-being of Nebraska he invested some \$25,000 in the stock of a bank in Lincoln, managed by men he thought he knew. Sometime afterward without his knowledge he was made one of the directors of the bank. When he learned of this action he strongly objected chiefly because the C., B. & Q. was a large depositor, but was persuaded to let his name remain on the list of directors on the reasonable representation of those concerned that it would strengthen the credit of the bank, help the small country banks, the farmers and merchants of Nebraska and the State at large. Of course he was unable to give any personal attention to the management of the bank's business. It degenerated into a wild cat concern. In 1896 the natural crisis came, threatening disaster throughout the State.

Mr. Perkins' legal obligation was that of a stockholder of 250 shares at a par value of \$25,000, but he seems not to have studied the limit of his legal obligation, but to have regarded only the reasons urged for his remaining in the directory. His name had inspired confidence and that confidence must be justified, and it was in the day's work for him to prevent or to repair the loss which the dishonesty or incompetency of the managers of the bank had caused and to restore and rehabilitate the bank if possible. To this end he sold many of his valuable securities, his

surest source of income, at a loss, and expended eleven hundred thousand dollars to satisfy what seemed to him a moral obligation. A great citizen of Nebraska, J. Sterling Morton, thus commented on this action in his paper *The Conservative*, July 13, 1899, his relations as a confidential friend not permitting him to publish names.

The heroism of private citizens in commercial life is often of the most exalted and consecrated type. The heroism of honesty in peace is as worthy of emulation as that of fortitude and courage in war. The heroism which for pride in a good name, for pride in one's own family because of its pure record and guileless history, will sacrifice hundreds of thousands of dollars to maintain the credit of a bank or other institution with which that name has been even involuntarily connected, is grander and more majestic mentally and morally than the heroism of the battle-field. Right here in Nebraska the *Conservative* has been an eye-witness of an instance of financial and patriotic heroism which for the sake of a good name and without legal compulsion being possible put up voluntarily more than a million of dollars and saved many a bank and business house from failure in this young State during the panic of a few years ago. It required more grit, more character of the choicest kind, more wholesome pride, more self-abnegation than a charge upon a battery spouting bullets and shells.

If gratitude were an enduring sentiment, if the faculty of memory were as strong in its exercise as the heat of a passing enthusiasm, the school children of Nebraska would be taught to-day not only of the foresight and venturesome will which opened highways wherein their fathers entered and possessed the land, but also of the lofty spirit and perfect honor of this modern Roman who in their people's extremity found his opportunity and at heavy cost of health and fortune saw to it that their republic should receive no harm.

The result of extending the road to the Missouri River justified the opinion that he had given in 1866 and thereafter the great financiers and men of affairs of New England who were interested in the road so confided in the soundness of his judgment that his influence controlled in all questions of its further extension. He fixed the time and place. His had become the authentic word. And as we contemplate the



eight thousand miles of highway that he caused to be built in Nebraska and Colorado, through the wilderness of South Dakota and Wyoming and Montana, and the enduring beneficence which resulted in opening fields for the multifarious industries and activities of myriads of stalwart men and women, in multiplying their opportunities for profitable usefulness, in strengthening the physical, moral, social and industrial, as well as the political union of the United States, we feel that it was the imperial achievement of an inspired foresight as well as of an imperial will.

We have already referred to his personal influence on his co-workers, developing in each the ambition to render always his best service, and in the successful exercise of his influence on strong bright-minded men we find explanation of the fact that many places of responsibility on the other railroads of the country are now filled with success and honor by men who received their early training under him. There are now presidents of five of the important roads of the United States who are free to use the words of one of the most eminent of their number, "I learned more from him than from any other man I ever knew," and not one who does not recall his association with him in that earlier experience, and his relations with him as long as he lived with pride and affection. "That which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends" was surely his. He treasured the love of his companions, and he had his reward.

Though his friends in Burlington had noticed the signs of bodily infirmity, the tidings of his death, November 8, 1907, at Westwood, Massachusetts, took them unawares. Not yet can they think of him as one whose day is ended and whose work is done, or realize that they shall no more look upon that commanding, gracious and attractive presence; the natural embodiment of great powers and noble qualities, powers so applied and qualities so exercised for the promotion of the general welfare that his private life now seems public and historic. We give place to others to speak in terms of comparison in their estimate of him. Mr. Richard Olney said: "Mr. Perkins was the most important man in the

business life of Boston who has died in recent years." Mr. James J. Hill said: "He was a great man, his was the greatest railroad intellect of the country. He did a great work and there is no one to fill his place." Another kindred spirit familiar with many men esteemed great called him, "One of the truest men and finest gentlemen God has given to America." Many men of all classes and conditions have testified their high regard for him in words true and inspiring, but no tribute so quickens the memory of those who knew him or so stirs their imagination as that, beautiful in its fitness and simplicity, which by the suspension of all the work of the railroad at the hour of his funeral enabled all those employed in its service, though scattered along its thousand leagues, at once and by a common impulse to pay their reverent homage and together to say farewell to him whom for these many years they had regarded as peculiarly their own.

---

#### CLAYTON COUNTY AS DESCRIBED TO A RESIDENT OF CONNECTICUT IN 1838.

---

Clayton Co., July 7th, 1838.

Dear Father:

\* \* \* I am in latitude  $42\frac{1}{2}$ , a considerable distance north of what I intended when I left home. One great reason why I came thus far north is that on inquiry of many who had lived in the southern part of Indiana and Illinois, I found that it was unhealthy on all those flat extensive prairies. Besides all the good land was taken up. And the same reason which made it unhealthy for man would render it difficult keeping sheep, one object which I had in view when I left home. And to conclude my reasons for stopping here it is in the vicinity of the lead mines, where there are a great many persons engaged in mining, which makes a good market for everything which the farmer can raise so long as there is a market on the Mississippi River. I suppose it is as good a farming country as it is farther south, and the lead mines are said to be richer than the gold mines of Mexico, that is, there is more profit in working them.

The claim I have to the land I am improving is like all the other claims in the Territory (perhaps thirty or forty thousand in number). There is not a man in Ioway Territory who has a deed of his lands. There is a sort of combination among the settlers to support one another at the day of sale, and keep the spec-

ulators out. So sure are they of the lands they claim that they make as much improvement as though they now had government deeds for them. So great is the number whose interest is to keep the speculator out, he durst not come, neither would it be safe for him to bid on a settler's improvement, for it is the avowed intention of many of them to protect their's with rifle, and defend their claims at the hazard of their lives. It was tried at Chicago and the squatters came off victorious. I write this, not that I approve of the measure, but seeing that the measure is adopted to receive its benefits. Should the lands come into market before I have time to make money to enter it I shall look at home for a supply for the purpose.

I have bought me part of a prairie team and am breaking prairie with another man, and intend putting in spring wheat and oats in the spring, and fencing this winter. I am at present boarding in the family of an eastern doctor, but think I shall soon follow the custom of the country, which is keeping bachelor's hall.

This is to all appearances as fine a sheep country as ever saw the light of the sun. When the country becomes a little older and the wild animals thinned off, I think I shall enter into wool growing, as I think there is a considerable extent of country that will be fine for this business. All the grasses that will grow at the East will flourish here in abundance. It produces white clover in abundance. The natural grass is not such as I supposed, tall as a man's head. It is not more than knee high on the dry prairie. The tall grass is on the low, wet land or close in the edge of the timber. I could as easily have summered 10,000 sheep as father can five hundred. The soil is a rich black loam with good wood and fine springs of water, which two things are greatly needed in a great many parts of the country farther south.

I think now that I shall not come home until the land comes into market. Iowa extends west of the Mississippi about one hundred miles and from Missouri about four hundred miles. It has lately been set off from Wisconsin Territory.

From your affectionate son,

GEORGE A. WHITMAN.

Turkey River Post Office,

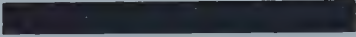
Thirty Miles Above Dubuque, Iowa Territory.

CORRECTION of second and third sentences on page 296, *Annals*, January, 1908, to read as follows: Mr. Benton had been defeated for re-election to that body, because of his opposing measures that led, under Mr. Douglas, to the repeal of the Compromise, under which Missouri came into the Union. Mr. Benton regarded that repeal as a breach of faith, an act of dishonor.

W. S.







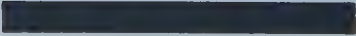
Charles Aldrich

Born October 2, 1828, Elling-

ton, New York

Died March 8, 1908,

Boone, Iowa



# ANNALS OF IOWA.

---

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

---

### DEATH OF MR. ALDRICH.

---

In the death of Mr. Aldrich, *The Annals* suffers irreparable loss. He founded the third series, and placed upon it his best efforts, as an experienced journalist. He selected topics and writers to treat them, with great skill and, through his own efforts and those of his assistants trained by him, made of the pages of *The Annals* such a repository of Iowa historical matter as even he, at the beginning, scarcely hoped for. He never ceased his efforts to induce men, who were factors in eventful periods of Iowa history, to record their views of such events. When he closed his desk, for the last time, there were within it manuscripts from the pens of valued contributors. There were unfulfilled pledges of many others, to furnish articles he very much desired. There were some editorials from his own pen, and much material undeveloped or in outline. Volume eight is but half finished and it will be the purpose of the writer, who has been appointed Acting Curator, during the pleasure of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Department, to continue the form of the journal identically with that preceding the death of Mr. Aldrich, and make use of such material as he, in life, provided or approved. If any deviation shall be made it will be in the eighth number (January, 1909), closing the volume; this should include all messages, communications, press notices, addresses and programs incident to Mr. Aldrich's death. EDGAR R. HARLAN.

---

### IOWA AND THE EXPERT.

---

In these days we are told that the test of success both in business and in government is the employment of scientifically trained or practically skilled men whose achievements have been duly attested. Science and expert ability, however, are

not common growths. They can not be secured by means of popular elections governed as these are usually by bitter and often sordid partisan strife, for the expert who is an expert will not demean himself to obtain public favor by petition, prayer, or pressure. The expert can be secured only by selection by the responsible head of the State or of the department wherein trained service is desired. In such selection the heads of the administration should not be hampered by local interests, commercial, partisan or personal. Other things being equal it is wiser, of course, for a city or state to choose an expert native to its heath and familiar with its folk rather than one born and reared in regions remote where life and traditions are unlike. But the supreme test of a rational and efficient public administration is met whenever a people go outside their local area and secure men of special fitness for scientific or technical work.

At various times in her history Iowa has met this test with a fair degree of success: and what is satisfactory to note the practice was begun early in the State's career. In 1847 the State entered upon an elaborate policy of internal improvements centering chiefly in the improvement of the navigation of the Des Moines River. The Board of Public Works having the matter in charge went to Ohio and secured the services of Samuel R. Curtis, a West Pointer who had in 1837-1839 achieved fame as Chief Engineer of the Muskingum River Improvement. In 1855 the people demanded a general reorganization of the public schools and legislation with a view thereto was enacted and a Commission provided therefor. Governor James W. Grimes was empowered to name it. He went to Ohio and secured the services of the nation's educator, *par excellence*, Horace Mann, and thence to New York where he enlisted Amos Dean. On or about the same time Professor James Hall of Albany, New York, was induced to come to Iowa and establish our State Geological Survey. It was at this time that the State University attained an existence *de facto* and Dr. Dean was installed as its first executive head. For the most part the University has had men at its head whom the Board of Regents have called from other States, *e. g.* Presidents Pickard, Schaeffer and MacLean.

President A. S. Welch, the first President of the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, had attained fame in Florida prior to coming to Iowa. In general the authorities of our educational institutions whenever local talent has been inadequate have without hesitation gone outside the State for specialists to carry on particular scientific and technical work. The members of the Constitutional Convention that convened in Iowa City in 1857, desiring to have their proceedings accurately and fully reported engaged the services of a man who had then achieved distinction as a stenographer, Mr. W. Blair Lord. He had reported the debates and proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of New Jersey in 1844 and in 1856 had been the stenographer for the noted Congressional committee that investigated the troubles in Kansas, of which John Sherman was a member.

In the administration of the several charitable and correctional institutions now under the Board of Control we may find to a greater or less degree the fulfillment of this rule of business efficiency in two respects. The authorities either have gone abroad for trained men to take charge of this or that institution; or, they have pursued the policy of transferring efficient subordinate officers from one institution to another as vacancies occurred. This practice is, of course, but little else than another phase of the method of seeking experts from abroad when not to be found here.

In matters of art and landscape gardening Iowa has not attempted much in her public administration. Nevertheless when the present capitol was authorized and plans were materializing the Commissioners secured the services of A. H. Piquenard, a distinguished architect of Illinois, with the result that we have a beautiful and stately structure that arouses admiration among all classes, artists and laymen alike. The mural decorations and frescoes were done by Fritz Melzer, a German artist of Berlin. When in 1902 it was decided to decorate the corridors and rotunda in a manner befitting such a building, the Capitol Commissioners exemplified the principle here referred to in striking fashion. Mr. Elmer E. Garusey of New York, an eminent artist in interior



decoration, was employed to make a general design and superintend the work. Mr. Edwin H. Blashfield was engaged by him to paint the large allegorical picture that now adorns the head of the grand staircase. Mr. Kenyon Cox was secured to paint the beautiful lunettes in the rotunda and Mr. Frederick Dielman was engaged to design the six mosaics in the arcade above Mr. Blashfield's canvas.

This tendency towards the employment of experts in art and science regardless of their domicile we may expect to see increase as the years proceed. Experience here as elsewhere has demonstrated that the intrusion of local prejudices or partisan considerations in the conduct of administration, be it in ordinary commerce and manufacture or in government, makes economy and efficiency impossible. The increasing burdens of government will result in greater demand for the best possible service. Moreover, as the people witness the beneficial results of the employment of experts in their State government they will in due course realize that the same principle is equally applicable in the conduct of the government of our municipalities. It may be years hence but eventually the people of our cities will pursue the practice of seeking experts in finance, sanitation, and police and fire administration, parks, etc., in precisely the same manner followed by railroads in securing superintendents of construction, operation, etc., that is, regardless of their habitat. The sole consideration will be their demonstrated fitness—character, capacity, and achievement. In the public school system of our cities experts in educational administration and in the art and science of pedagogies are now generally employed. School boards that have any reputation to lose seldom employ the superintendents or teachers because they live “in their town.” In their great engineering enterprises our city governments have rarely restricted their choice of civil engineers to local talent. The city of Boone years ago gave us a fine illustration of excellent judgment when the council of that city on the recommendation of the late Charles Aldrich, decided to install a modern sewerage system. They employed the greatest sanitary engineer in the United States, if not in the world, Col. George E. Waring, Jr., of New York City. It

is not improbable under a normal growth of intelligent and insistent public opinion that our city councils will be empowered to go abroad for heads of their technical departments wherein experts and specialists are imperatively required if the maximum efficiency is to be attained; and ultimately they will likewise secure the supreme head of the city administration in a manner not unlike that followed by the city councils of Germany.

F. I. H.

---

### THE CONTENTS OF AN OLD BASKET.

---

The writer passed the night at the Bryson Hotel in Hillsboro, Henry county, Iowa, some two years ago, and from a casual remark of the host, Mr. Gene Bryson, became interested in the family history of his maternal grandfather Pope. When asked whether there were existing any documentary materials touching the Pope family Mr. Bryson said "If there are, they are in the old basket out in the woodshed." "The old basket in the woodshed" in many a homestead of Iowa holds material of interest to all future Iowa and the west.

The old basket in question revealed the fact that Samuel Pope, a man of family, removed from Hillsborough, Ohio, to what was then Washington, now Hillsboro, and as letters therein contained indicated, "near Ceocuck, Iowa." He was a democrat, a tavern keeper, a horseman, a hunter, and a raconteur of tavern tales which, told in the first person, made of his name the peg on which to hang almost every tavern lie in southern Iowa. The basket verified tradition on all these points and though it contained not over a hundred items, embraced the following:

Commission to Samuel Pope as Captain of the Fourth Company, Third Regiment, Second Brigade and Eighth Division, Ohio Militia, dated July 7th, 1819, and signed by the Secretary of State Jn. McLane, and by the Governor, Ethan Allen Brown; it bears the seal of Ohio, and is endorsed with Captain Pope's oath of office. A similar commission as Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, dated September 8th, 1824,

signed by the Governor, Jeremiah Morrow. A breeding poster, season of 1833, exploiting *Bertrand* by *Bertrand*, giving terms and exhibiting affidavits of Kentucky owners and breeders showing the horse's performances on the track and qualities as a sire, his descent from "the old imported Diomed" on one side and "the imported Janus" on the other. A letter from Ohio, which the writer transmitted by a mutual friend who, while traveling to Iowa, also led for Col. Pope a running horse; Kate Pope rode this horse at the first Iowa State Fair, at Fairfield, in a race which was an early Iowa sporting sensation. Printed list, 1844, Ohio state officers, with floor plan of House of Representatives, showing seat of each member. *Hillsborough (Ohio) Gazette* extra, April 12, 1847, announcing the capture by American troops of the city of Vera Cruz. Mexican war letters from a son, a paragraph of one reading: "Col. Hays of the Mounted Rangers arrived here this morning. He came very near capturing Santa Anna prisoner. They took his uniform coat. It is a most splendid thing, cost two thousand dollars. They got so near him that his bed was still warm." Two certificates of stock in The Iowa Manufacturing Company, dated respectively April first and eighth, 1840, issued to Henry Wade and countersigned by J. R. Bailey, Secretary, and I. Galland, President, each for ten shares at one hundred dollars each. A statement of account of The Western Stage Company with Samuel Pope for the months of January and February, 1858. Two licenses as hotel keeper issued under authority of the Acts of Congress of July 1, 1862, and June 30, 1864, by J. C. Walker, of Fort Madison, collector for the First Iowa District; the first showing payment of ten dollars, valid until September 1st, 1863, and the second of five dollars and valid until May 1st, 1867. Ballots headed respectively, "Democratic State Ticket. For Secretary of State, Samuel Douglass" and "Union State Ticket. For Governor, William H. Merritt." Numerous letters relating to routes and methods of travel through the west; militia, Mexican War and Civil War experiences written by a son, and a comrade's letter detailing the death of this son on a southern field.

Materials of this kind are much desired in the Historical Department Collections. Items of the Western Stage Company are especially sought. Concerning the 1,500 men employed in Iowa in 1858, with over a million and a half dollars invested and thousands of vehicles and their equipment, there remains practically nothing at hand from which to adequately consider the institution. Books of account, contracts, bills of lading or manifests, tickets for passage, route sheets, damage claims, mail and express commissions must have been and may be in existence by thousands. Where are they? A lone statement of account between the company and one of its agents in the last twenty years of its struggle against progress comes forth after fifty years repose in the old basket in the woodshed. It very interestingly exhibits its debits to Col. Pope thus:

1858.

January 2d.	By fare received on Trunk &c bag			
		from H(illsboro) to Mt P(leasant)		.75
2d		passage F. Whiting from H. to Salem		.50
13	" "	" J. E. Dougherty	" "	.50
15	" "	" I. Morrison	H. Mp	1.75
16		N Lyons Hto	Utica	.50
18		W. D. Hill,	U to M P	2.00
20		I Sellers	H to U	.50
23		S Coulton	U to M P	2.00
23		Mrs Moore	U to M P	2.00
23		D Adams	H to Salem	.50
Feby 2		Ann Frazer	H to Salem	.50
4		F. Whiting	H to M P	1.50
8		Lucy Funkhouser	U to M P	2.00
"		L Leffler	U to M P	2.00
22		I S Reist	H to M P	1.50
26		W H. Hatch		2.00
Amount of Credit				20.50

It charged itself with a total of \$45.28 made up of some forty-five items, only two of which are entered as of the same day, and only a few days missing, well exemplified in the following:

January 2, 1858,	to 1 extra meal for driver and feed for horses	.75
January 11 to 2 extra meals for driver and feed for horses		1.50



January 12 to 1 extra driver and team over night (\$.25 and \$1.00).	1.25
January 13 to 1 meal for driver.....	.25
February 22 to 1 man and horse over night.....	1.00
To keeping of one sick horse from February 20th to March 1, 1858,	
8 days at \$2.00 per week .....	2.28

## DES MOINES RIVER ENGINEERING.

The question of the navigability of the Des Moines River long figured in the politics and business of Iowa. In 1849 Samuel R. Curtis, fresh from success as the engineer of the Muskingum River work, was brought to Iowa to survey the Des Moines River and submit plans for making it navigable. He had, as his assistants, Guy Wells, Samuel Jacobs, M. M. Hayden, and William Dewey. Their work was prosecuted under the Board of Public Works of which Hugh W. Sample was president, Charles Corkery secretary and Paul Brattain treasurer. A plat of the survey was filed with the Board in 1849. This plat disclosed the total length of the river, from Fort Des Moines to the mouth of Nassau Slough, to be two hundred four and sixty-eight one-hundredths miles; length of navigation, one hundred eighty-three and sixty-eight one-hundredths miles; length of canaling twenty-nine and thirty-seven one-hundredths miles. A total fall of three hundred nine and seventy-nine one-hundredths feet was utilized by twenty-eight dams and nine locks. From the first dam at St. Francisville, twelve miles from the mouth of the Nassau Slough, navigable water was to be locked to the Mississippi. Each dam was of such a height as to raise the water to the next dam above. Beginning with St. Francisville the dams were respectively located as follows: Number two at Cowpen's Mill near the line between ranges seven and eight; number three at Thom's Mill (Athens); number four a half mile above Farmington; number five at Bonaparte; number six at Bentonsport, number seven at Keosauqua. These seven dams, with locks and gates, were actually constructed and put in operation. Number eight was near Philadelphia (now Kil-

bourne); number nine, Portland (Dowds-Leando); number ten one mile above Iowaville. Considerable work was done on dams numbers eight, nine and ten. Number eleven was to be about three miles above Eldon; number twelve near Cliffland; number thirteen at the mouth of Sugar Creek, two miles below Ottumwa. Number fourteen was just above Ottumwa, where a canal was employed to shorten the channel. Number fifteen was three miles below Chillicothe; number sixteen near Chillicothe; number seventeen three miles below Eddyville, at the mouth of Brown Creek; number eighteen two miles above Eddyville; number nineteen was at Rocky Ripple, west of Given; number twenty was at Talley's Ford, now Belle Fountain, where a canal led across the large bend and back into the main channel three miles below, through a lock over nineteen feet in height. Number twenty-one was half a mile above the mouth of English Creek; number twenty-two was at Amsterdam, southwest of Pella; number twenty-three at the mouth of Whitebreast Creek where another canal led across the large bend at the lower end of which was a lock twelve and a half feet in height. Number twenty-four was just below Red Rock, now Dunreath; number twenty-five at Bennington near Swan, where a canal led out on the north or left bank of the river for some six miles through two locks of a height aggregating twenty-four and one-fourth feet, returning to the main channel near Dunreath. Number twenty-six was at Lafayette, southwest of Runnels where was another canal of one mile. Number twenty-seven was at Dudley southwest of Adelphi, where another canal of one-fourth mile in length cut off about four miles of channel and is now the river bed; number twenty-eight near Levy raised the water to the Raccoon fork five miles above and turned the channel into a canal three miles long and through a sixteen-foot lock.

---

#### STATUE OF JAMES HARLAN.

Section 1814, Revised Statutes of the United States, provides that each State may furnish statues in marble or bronze, to be placed in the National Statuary Hall, "of two deceased

persons, who have been citizens thereof and illustrious in historic renown or for distinguished civic or military service." A preamble to chapter 226, of the acts of the 22nd General Assembly of Iowa states: "Whereas, the Hon. James Harlan, Senator of Iowa and Secretary of the Interior, under Lincoln, now deceased, is worthy of being selected as one of the citizens of Iowa whose statue shall be placed in said National Statuary Hall," etc., and proceeds to appropriate the sum of \$5,000.00 for the purpose. It clothed the Executive Council with authority to contract for a clay model of such a statue, which, when completed to their satisfaction, is to be cast in bronze and placed in Statuary Hall. The Council has before it the duty thus imposed. The act was passed largely through love engendered by Senator Harlan in his noble old age. Men of middle age had most to do with bringing about the appropriation. But when the selection of a model presents itself, the question of the age at which the man is to be portrayed rises into some significance. The sculptress, Miss Nellie V. Walker, a former resident of Moulton, Iowa, visited the Historical Department in search of aids to the study of a full length portrait. On being asked at what age she proposed to represent him, she replied, "just as he is remembered by those who are now living." The writer professed a vivid remembrance of Senator Harlan's appearance within the last twenty-five years but advised a selection from the broader consideration which both the federal and state laws appear to embrace, namely, the appearance of the man when eminent in civic affairs. Any other view would seem untenable for this most dignified and permanent embodiment of the appearance of a face and form. Art is said to look to posterity for its own approval. The remote future, if interested in Senator Harlan, will search the literature of our day and the records of our nation, wherein, with his own hand, he wrote the measure of his own attainments. There will be disclosed a man whose public career ended at the age of fifty-two and with the period of reconstruction. They will show a man whose position is affected by his relation to men of eminence and by events the most pregnant in our country's history. If the eminence of the man is the consideration for this ex-

pression from his State, then his statue should portray him at that instant when he reached his zenith. That event may have been in senate or in council, in 1864 or 1865, or in his famous championship of Grant's San Domingan policy in 1871, certainly not after the latter date. It is inappropriate to represent a soldier in civilian garb and perhaps but little more a public man as he appears a full generation after his public service ended. One may see dedicated at the same time memorials typifying the soldier in the rebellion and in the war with Spain, the one as of middle or advanced age and the other in youth. The error is manifest. It is to be hoped no mistake in art will be made in this expression of a State for no higher consideration than the preference of those of us who knew and loved Senator Harlan. We are but a few, as to the population of the State and of a few days as to the time this expression will endure.

---

### NEW PUBLICATIONS

---

*Dedication of monuments erected by the State of Iowa, commemorating the death, suffering and valor of Her Soldiers on the Battlefields of Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Shiloh, and in the Confederate Prison at Andersonville. November twelfth to twenty-sixth, nineteen hundred and six. Compiled by Alonzo Abernethy, for the committee.*

General Assemblies of Iowa provided a total appropriation of \$249,370.28 wherewith to erect monuments and memorials in honor of her troops who participated in the Siege of Vicksburg, Battles of Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and Shiloh, and those who were confined in the confederate military prison at Andersonville. Commissions of Iowa ex-soldiers were appointed who should have charge of the erection of the structures. The 31st General Assembly in 1906 appropriated \$7,500.00 to defray the expense of a joint dedication of the memorial structures. The 32d General Assembly directed the publication of this complete report of the ceremonies. This volume sets out the personnel of the official party which made the itinerary and formally received on the behalf of the State the work of the different committees and on same behalf turned it over to the national government. A general introduction to the volume is supplemented by a special introduction for each of the four groups of ceremonies. The programs of these and the proceedings of each are presented in full. At Vicksburg and Andersonville there were single programs, while at Chat-



tanooga there were ceremonies at Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga and Rossville Gap. At Shiloh, at the regimental monuments and at the State monument. The memorial inscriptions at each field are set out in the text of the book. Some thirty full page half-tone illustrations of the scenes and structures and maps, folded in, of Vicksburg and vicinity, the battlefield of Shiloh, Chattanooga and vicinity and Andersonville prison, add value to the work. A thing to be desired is the exact accrediting of illustrations attributed to the time of the war. Aside from this the volume is one of the handsomest and best of its character we have seen. It is compiled in the office of the Secretary of State by Colonel Alonzo Abernethy for the committees of the various commissions. It is from the press of Emory H. English, State Printer, and bound by E. D. Chassell, State Binder.

---

*A Second Report on the Public Archives by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, published by the Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1907.*

As the title suggests, this volume is supplementary to a report on the Public Archives by Dr. Shambaugh, reprinted from the January 1907, number of the *Annals of Iowa*. This preliminary report was made to the Trustees of the State Library and Historical Department of Iowa, September 1906, in compliance with the request of that Board for suggestions, relative to the care and preservation of Public Archives under the provisions of an act of the 31st General Assembly. That report forms a volume of thirty-nine pages, whose contents briefly surveyed the general field of such work in Europe and America; reported upon the conditions in Iowa; defined the problems to be met and recommended a scheme for carrying out the work. The present volume reports progress after September 18, 1906, the date of the first report, to the time when this work was transferred to the direction of the Executive Council from the Board of Trustees of the State Library and Historical Department of Iowa, and includes reviews of the provision and equipment of rooms for the work; the method of handling and character and amount of materials as far as the work advanced; a published guide to the several official repositories, which was devised in the course of the work; the publication of matter for general information during the progress of the work; and legislation affecting the work. An appendix to the report is the guide alluded to and is a most valuable assistant to the identity of incumbencies and documentary contents of all Iowa departments, offices, boards, commissions and public institutions from 1838 to 1897. The volume consists of 364 pages, with table of contents and index, in paper covers. It is from the press of the Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and is a work of superb book-making.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOSIAH GIVEN was born at Murrysville, Westmoreland county, Pa., August 31, 1828; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, February 3, 1908. His parents were John and Jane Clendenning Given, and they were born in Ireland. In the spring of 1838 the family moved to Holmes county, Ohio. In 1847 Judge Given enlisted as a soldier in the Mexican war, becoming a member of Co. G, 4th Ohio Infantry, and before the close of that conflict he was made a corporal. At the conclusion of that war, he returned to Ohio, and became a student of the law, in the office of his elder brother, Judge William Given, and his partner, J. R. Barcroft, at Millersburg, Ohio. After two years of reading he was admitted to the bar in Stark county, Ohio, on motion of Edwin M. Stanton. The next year he was elected prosecuting attorney of Holmes county, serving in that capacity two terms. In 1856 he removed to and opened a law office in Coshocton, and very soon secured a satisfactory practice. While attending court in that county news came of the firing on Fort Sumter, and without finishing the case then on trial in which he was engaged, he left the court room and did not return until the end of the Civil War. He immediately raised a company known as "K" 24th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and was commissioned its captain. The summer of 1861 was spent with his company in the mountains of West Virginia. In the fall of that year, he was transferred and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the 18th Ohio Volunteers. While serving in that capacity he was severely wounded at the battle of Stone River; and by reason of conspicuous bravery was made Colonel of the 74th Ohio Infantry, his commission issuing in the year 1863. He participated in twenty-two battles, during the Civil War, for a part of the time commanded the third brigade, third division of the 14th army corps, and retired with the rank of Brigadier-General. After the fall of Atlanta, he resigned on account of rheumatism contracted in the service. He was the first to offer his services to Governor Shaw at the breaking out of the late war with Spain; but on account of extreme age his enlistment was not accepted. He was the first Commander of Crocker Post, and the Commander of the Iowa Department G. A. R. in the year 1886. Few men have such an army record as had Judge Given; and he was never happier than when attending Grand Army meetings or Old Soldiers' reunions. His affection and love for "his boys" was extremely touching. At the close of the war he was almost immediately elected postmaster of the House of Representatives, of the 39th Congress, largely through the instrumentality of James A. Garfield, then a member of the House. Shortly after that he came to Des Moines, where he formed a partnership with his old law preceptor Judge J. R. Barcroft. Here his eminent fitness for official duties was soon recognized, and in 1871 he was elected District Attorney of the District of which Polk county was a part; and in 1876 was elected to the State legislature from Polk county, serving on the committees of Judiciary, Appropriations, Compensation of Public Officers, Cities and Towns, and Judicial Districts. Before election to the District Attorneyship he was appointed by General, then President, Grant, Deputy Revenue Commissioner, resigning that position when elected to the attorneyship. In 1880 he was elected Circuit Judge of the Polk District, and upon the abolishment of that office was elected District Judge of the same District in the year 1886,

and served in that capacity until appointed to the Supreme Bench by Governor Larrabee, in February 1889, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Reed. He was twice elected a Supreme Judge and thrice served as Chief Justice, assuming that position upon his appointment by the Governor. Upon his retirement from the Supreme Bench he was appointed by Governor Cummins to fill a vacancy upon the District Bench of his county, caused by the death of Charles P. Holmes, serving the remaining year of his predecessor's term. Judge Given was married at Millersburg, Ohio, October 6, 1851, to Elizabeth Armor. She died twelve years ago. The surviving children are Welker, Josiah Jr., William H. Given and Mrs. Joseph G. Gardner, all of Des Moines, and Frank and Thomas Given of Spokane, Wash. Few men have had greater personal popularity than Judge Given. He had that sweetness of disposition, that kindness of heart, and that sympathy for and thoughtfulness of others which endeared him to all. A quickness of comprehension, and an almost intuitional divination of the very right in every controversy made him an exceptionally strong trial judge; and when promoted to the Supreme Bench, he brought to it years of experience both at the bar and on the bench, making him a valuable member of that body. He never betrayed either a friend or a trust; and his ideals were of the highest. No one ever challenged either his character or his motives. Distinguished as a soldier, eminent as a jurist, and conspicuously honorable and just in his private life, Judge Given's services both to the State and the Nation were of inestimable value.

H. E. D.

---

LUCIAN C. BLANCHARD was born at Diana, Lewis county, New York, April 15, 1839; he died at his home in Oskaloosa, Iowa, March 1, 1908. He attended rural schools and afterwards removed to Mt. Morris, Illinois, where he taught school for some time. In 1860 he arrived in Newton, Jasper county, Iowa. He enlisted in Company K, 28th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, participating in the battles of Fort Gibson and Champion Hills and in the Siege of Vicksburg. He was honorably discharged on account of disabilities and returned to the north. He graduated from the law course at the University of Michigan in 1866. He was appointed Judge of Jasper county in 1867 and elected in 1868. He was elected Circuit Judge of a district composed of Poweshiek, Washington, Keokuk and Jefferson counties, then re-elected, the district now also embracing Jasper, Marion and Mahaska, then a re-election added four years more to the eight already served with great credit. He served in the Legislature from Mahaska county in the House of the 25th and in the Senate of the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th General Assemblies. He was a member of the Iowa Vicksburg Park Monument Commission. He was once President of the Iowa State Bar Association, Vice Commander Iowa Department G. A. R., Grand Orator and Grand Treasurer Iowa Grand Lodge of Masons, and with Judge Theron F. Newton, editor of the *Masonic Digest*.

---

GALUSHA PARSONS was born at East Aurora, N. Y., on May 22, 1828; he died at his home in Tacoma, Washington, March 10, 1908. He removed from New York to Iowa in 1865, locating at Ft. Dodge. He was a representative in the Iowa House of Representa-



tives in the 13th General Assembly from Webster county, serving on committees of Judiciary and State University. He attained eminence at the bar at Ft. Dodge. He removed to Des Moines in 1873, being associated first with George H. Lewis and then with John S. Runnels. Great learning, effective argument, and persistent methods distinguished him at the Des Moines bar. He removed to Tacoma, Washington, in 1890 and continued in the law practice. His activities and success grew until about four years ago, when his health began to fail. His body was brought to Iowa and buried at Greenwood Cemetery, Des Moines, March 19, 1908.

---

M. J. DAVIS was born in Juniata county, Pa., Oct. 27, 1837; he died at Lewis, Cass county, Iowa, February 2, 1908. He graduated in medicine in 1862 and soon afterwards enlisted in the Union army and was assigned to Hospital duty. In 1866 he located in Lewis, Iowa, where he practiced medicine until 1881, retiring to devote himself to general business. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the 25th and 26th General Assemblies, serving on many of the important committees. He was the author of the law against the sale of malt liquors by pharmacists. He was a man of large means and wide and wholesome influences.

---

SAMUEL F. COOPER was born at Stockbridge, Mass., December 19, 1826; he died at his home in Campbell, Cal., February 21, 1908. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1851. In 1855 he removed to Grinnell, Iowa, engaging in the law and real estate business. Edited the *Montezuma Republican*, 1860; enlisted as a private in Fourth Iowa Cavalry, 1861; was transferred to and became Lieutenant Colonel of the Fortieth Iowa Infantry. He served as District Judge in Arkansas following the war and for four years was U. S. Consul at Glasgow, Scotland. He organized the First National Bank of Grinnell; served as the first Mayor of that city, 1865-67; was a Trustee of Iowa College and Oberlin College. He made many valuable gifts to Iowa College. His body was brought to Grinnell for burial.

---

JAMES MORTIMER CLARK was born near Toronto, Jefferson county, Ohio, in 1822; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, Feb. 12, 1908. He was educated at Franklin college, New Athens, Ohio, read law with Stanton & McCook, Steubenville, Ohio, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in May, 1849. In 1852 Mr. Clark migrated to California, where he resided eleven years, returning to Ohio. He then removed to Johnson county, Iowa, in 1867, thence to Adams county in 1876, settling upon a farm in Prescott township, where his home remained. Mr. Clark represented Adams county in the House in the 26th General Assembly, serving on the committees of Retrenchment and Reform, Compensation of Public Officers, Hospitals for Insane, Board of Public Charities, Senatorial Districts and Fish and Game, and in the 27th, serving on the same committees and also on those of Federal Relations, Judiciary, Building and Loan, Telephone, Telegraph and Express, and Police Regulations.



CHARLES MACKENZIE was born in St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 6, 1842; he died at Mercy Hospital, Des Moines, Iowa, March 14, 1908. At an early age his family removed to Potosi, Wisconsin, and in 1857 to Dubuque. He graduated from Beloit College in 1861 and was immediately elected Principal of the Dubuque First Ward School, from which position he resigned to enter the 9th Iowa Volunteer Infantry. He was made Adjutant, later becoming Major of the regiment. He made an excellent record as a soldier. After the war he entered the profession of law, for a time being associated with Col. D. B. Henderson. He practiced at different northern Iowa points until 1883, when he removed to Des Moines, where he remained in active and successful practice until his death. He was a member of many orders and associations, among which were the G. A. R. and Military Order of the Loyal Legion. His body was buried at Dubuque. His brother, General Alexander Mackenzie, of the U. S. Army, is his only surviving relative.

---

JOHN FRANK was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1807; he died at his farm in Hamilton county, Iowa, July 11, 1907. Mr. Frank was a pioneer, having removed to the State in 1855. He had resided for over fifty years on his farm near Webster City. He was married in 1843 in his native State, and is survived by his wife and four children. He was a prominent factor in founding the Congregational church at Webster City and remained a leading figure in its council until his death.

---

ISAAC BRICE HENDERSHOT was born in Green county, Pa., March 5, 1834; he died at his home in Otley, Iowa, December 10, 1907. He settled in Otley in 1865 and for several years was engaged in the grain and live stock business. He became an influential citizen; was a charter member of the Baptist church at Otley and its loyal supporter. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the 23d and 26th General Assemblies.

---

CHARLES C. MABEE was born in White Plains, N. Y., June 27, 1821; he died in Fresno, Cal., Nov. 2, 1907, where he had gone to spend the winter. In 1840 he united with the Methodist Church and in 1842 was licensed to preach. In 1857 he removed to Iowa, locating in Okaloosa where he taught school and preached as opportunity afforded. In 1859 he rejoined the Iowa Conference and thereafter served appointments in many towns in various parts of the State. His life was one of unbounded devotion to his work.

---

MRS. JULIA CHAPIN GRINNELL was born in Springfield, Mass., Nov. 2, 1827; she died in Grinnell, Iowa, Dec. 11, 1907. She was the daughter of Deacon Chauncey Chapin, a leading citizen of the State of Massachusetts. In 1852 she was married to Josiah Bushnell Grinnell and in 1854 came with him to the far west and became one of the founders of the town which bears his name. She was one of the charter members of the Congregational Church, and helped organize the first Mothers' Club west of the Mississippi. She took a deep interest in the cause of education and many times extended aid to needy students.





JOHN H. CHARLES  
A Pioneer of Sioux City, Iowa